

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL POLICY

A TEXTBOOK ON THE PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY


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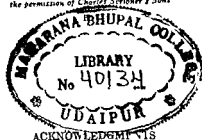
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FOREWORD TO TEACHERS

It is the belief of the authors and the publishers of this book that it meets an increasingly insistent demand voiced by many thoughtful teachers and school administrators. Three opinions, for which there are obvious reasons, seem to lie behind this demand. First is the observation that the very foundations of democracy itself, not alone certain governmental forms and practices, are threatened by various developments of recent decades. Second is the belief that the schools are falling short of their possibilities in the task of presenting the issues which are really *basic* if democratic ideals and practices are to survive. Third is the opinion that schools—especially secondary schools—must assume more responsibility for the development of leaders who have a sense of direction. Each of these considerations has influenced the content and emphasis of this book.

The problems chosen for presentation have been selected to induce thought and investigation on (1) the basic nature of democratic ideals and social forms and (2) the principal underlying trends of our time. It is apparent that there are many other problems which might have been discussed, but they are “derived” problems in the sense that we cannot get to grips with them in any fundamental way as long as we evade underlying issues. On the other hand, it is the belief of the authors that students who are guided in the thoughtful study and discussion of the issues presented in this book will derive insight into all the problems, both major and minor, which afflict our present social order. They will understand better why maladjustments occur in the first place and why we must eventually do more than patch and palliate if we

are to have stability in government and society. There is evidence that a few problems intensively taught and extensively interrelated make a more meaningful course for most students than the inclusive but necessarily superficial surveys which are given so often. This book is aimed at those "average" and "above-average" young people who are capable, if wisely guided, of selecting and organizing materials and reflecting critically upon ideas. It is from this portion of our student population that most leadership must be drawn. Under present complex conditions and attendant confusions, it is imperative that we get about the business of developing leaders capable of symbolizing ideals and analyzing issues for their less alert fellow citizens.

It is believed that teachers will find the arrangement of this book flexible. Except for Chapter I, which has to do with straight thinking and the sources of our information, the various topics may be taken up in any order that teacher and pupils think desirable. It will be noted that the arrangement made by the authors has grouped certain closely related chapters together—as 2-4, 5-8, and 9-11. However, if pupil interest is high after study of Chapter 5, some classes may wish to proceed directly to Chapter 10. Other possible shifts will be apparent on reflection.

Several of the problems presented here are controversial by their very nature. The more fundamental a problem, the more apt it is to get at the roots of our emotionally cherished beliefs and most deep-seated prejudices. Yet temperate and thoughtful discussions of such questions are not only desirable, they are imperative, an essential element in democratic education. An effort should be made by both teacher and pupils to (1) keep democratic ideals and aims continually in mind, (2) define terms carefully, (3) gather evidence critically, (4) hear all points of view fully, and (5) make conclusions tentative and provisional.

Aware of the difficulties met in teaching problems courses, the authors have attempted to anticipate as many of these as possible. Chapter I deals critically with the most common pitfalls in reasoning and discussion and with the most usual sources of information and misinformation. In this and subsequent chapters, emphasis is placed on the importance of accurate knowledge, disciplined thinking, and tolerance. Repeated effort is made to keep students alert for "traps" and aware of the dangers of trying to escape thought. Attention has been given also to various important structural elements. Many words and phrases are defined in context and footnotes. Short sentences and paragraphs predominate. There is considerable calculated repetition of ideas in different contextual settings. Above all, the authors have striven to define clearly for themselves the principal ideas which they wished to convey in each chapter, thus avoiding ambiguity. As a guide for the student in reading and organizing, the skeleton of each chapter is set forth in the outline which heads it. The exercises which conclude the chapters are planned carefully to provide application of the ideas developed, to lead to awareness of related details, and to encourage efforts to detect bias in various places, including the textbook itself.

The focus of the teacher's attention should be the individual pupil. The subject matter set forth in text and references is to be used for whetting his intellectual tools. Each student must build his own ideas, and the intent of the course is to aid him. He will proceed at a pace conditioned by his background of experience and general abilities, stimulated by class discussions and teacher guidance. The teacher must be ever aware of the difficulties which the individual student may have as a result of reading disabilities and the vague or misleading concepts with which he may approach study and discussion. These are difficulties which cannot be anticipated fully by the textbook, so the responsibility falls largely

on the teacher. Decisions must be made as to the references which each pupil will read, and this must be done on the basis of acquaintance with students as individuals. Two book lists are provided at the end of each chapter. For some students it is desirable to provide easy books to enlarge background and improve reading skill. Others will show surprising enthusiasm in undertaking difficult and specialized tasks if highly motivated.

The teacher of courses dealing with problems materials has an unusual opportunity. The very nature of the subject matter encourages study, reflection, and growth on his own part as well as for his students. He has opportunity to experiment profitably with various procedures, such as informal lectures, directed study, the contract method, panel discussions, debates, reports, and other types of method. There are innumerable opportunities for utilization of individual pupil interests, for instance, applied chemistry, mechanics, medicine, cartooning, photography, journalism, law, church work, politics, and business. Vigor and enthusiasm on the part of the teacher will usually be reflected immediately in the interest and effort of pupils.

Each teacher should bear in mind that the "freedom of teaching" which he demands entails obligations on his own part. The object of freedom of teaching is to promote freedom of study, not to license instructors to impose their personal prejudices on students. The wise teacher will strive constantly to emphasize objective methods of study and reasoning and to maintain a judicial attitude in weighing various points of view. His central and guiding purposes will be to teach pupils to investigate and to think for themselves. He will feel free to express candidly his own judgments, always labeling them as such, and equally free to say, "I don't know," when this is the case.

No better summary of the aims of teachers can be offered

in this connection than to remind ourselves of the statement of "the loyalties of free men" made several years ago by the Educational Policies Commission.¹

"The free man is loyal,

First, to himself as a human being of dignity and worth

Second, to the principle of human equality and brotherhood

Third, to the process of untrammelled discussion, criticism, and group decision

Fourth, to the ideal of honesty, fair-mindedness, and scientific spirit in the conduct of this process

Fifth, to the ideal of respect for and appreciation of talent, training, character, and excellence in all fields of socially useful endeavor

Sixth, to the obligation and the right to work

Seventh, to the supremacy of the common good

Eighth, to the obligation to be socially informed and intelligent."

THE AUTHORS

¹Educational Policies Commission. *The Education of Free Men in American Democracy*. National Education Association, 1941, p. 55.

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CHAPTER 1

ON GUARD IN CONTROVERSIAL DISCUSSION

*A man convinced against his will
Is of the same opinion still.*

Imagine Brown and Smith engaged in heated argument. Brown, who is a logical man, refutes Smith's points one by one and states clearly the reasons for his own beliefs. Soon Smith can think of nothing more to say. He listens for a few minutes in silence and moves away at the first opportunity, but without acknowledging that he is convinced.

Imagine, too, what comment each man would make when out of his opponent's hearing. Brown might say, "That chap is certainly stubborn! He doesn't want to know the facts." Smith, in turn, would be apt to exclaim, "Well, I still believe that I am right!"

Why is it that discussion of controversial questions is so often futile? Certainly not solely because of human stubbornness. More often than not both parties to an honest argument are convinced that they are "right." But too often there is simply no meeting of minds in discussions of topics about which there is sharp disagreement. When all the arguments have been made, we tend to be "of the same opinion still."

Ask one party to an argument why he finds his opponent unconvincing and he might say, "Why, that man can't think straight. He doesn't know how to reason." And he would probably be speaking some measure of truth. The fact is that all parties to any argument are apt to commit certain

common errors in logic Few persons can observe carefully, study thoughtfully and think logically on a high percentage of the questions which interest them

The more strongly we feel about an issue or a problem, the less apt we are to be strictly logical in discussing it. Fear, or the prejudice which grows out of fear, may lead us to defend the side of a question which seems to offer us greater personal security Too, certain of the ideas and attitudes about race, religion, economics, or politics which we acquired early in life and have never questioned may betray us in discussion Such ideas we are apt to regard as *answers* to problems, not subjects for further discussion, and we become emotionally upset when someone else questions them

If, to the absence of logic and the presence of emotion, we add a large measure of downright confusion, we understand better the reasons why controversial discussion is so often fruitless Confusion may arise either from insufficient information or from incorrect information Though radio, printed matter, and movies afford many sources of knowledge, they also provide the dishonest, the ignorant, and the insincere with an unparalleled opportunity to mislead and misinform us Confusion arises, too, from what we shall call "word trouble" People who use the same words frequently do not mean the same things, so neither one understands the other

Emotion, illogical reasoning, and confusion—these make it difficult for us to discuss problems clearly, fairly, and fruitfully Each of these is so important that it deserves fuller consideration Thus we shall proceed at once to give it For convenience, let us be guided by the following outline

I REASON VERSUS EMOTION

- 1 Feeling Colors Thought
- 2 Fears and Prejudices Warp Judgment
- 3 We Give Ourselves an Out

- II. LOGICAL THINKING EASIER SAID THAN DONE
 - 1. Reasoning by Induction
 - 2. Reasoning by Deduction
 - 3. Enemies of Responsible Thinking
- III. WORD TROUBLES SEPARATE MINDS
 - 1. On the Nature of Words
 - 2. Abstract Words
 - 3. "Loaded" Words
- IV. HOW SHALL WE LEARN THE FACTS?
 - 1. Group Influences on Judgment and Opinions
 - 2. The Radio and Public Opinion
 - 3. Motion Pictures Influence Opinions
 - 4. The Press and the Public
 - 5. Polls of Opinion
 - 6. The Methods of Propagandists
 - 7. Can We Avoid "Conscript Minds"?

Reason versus Emotion

Feeling Colors Thought. We reason only when we meet a problem. Reasoning involves rearranging our memories in an effort to call up images from our past experience that will help us. We try to use what we know. But the images we call to mind have what the psychologists call "emotional tone," that is, they arouse likes and dislikes. These likes or dislikes are of varying degree, ranging from great pleasure to extreme distaste or even fear.

When we face a problem, therefore, we do not think about it in a coldly logical, completely unemotional manner. We attack it by the use of reason colored or influenced by feelings. Because of the nature of our past experience, we have "mental sets" or "attitudes." The attitudes which we take toward a new problem are influenced by whether the images we call up were associated earlier with pleasant or unpleasant experiences. If the images recall pleasant and satisfying

experience, we are more likely to reason without emotional confusion. If they recall unpleasant and unsatisfying experience, we are apt to feel blocked and thwarted in our attempt to solve the new problem, so our thinking will be confused by our feelings.

Suppose, for instance, that the subject under discussion is whether we shall admit Japanese immigrants to the United States on the same terms that Chinese immigrants are admitted. The person who has known various immigrant families as friends is apt to argue that we should not discriminate against any people on the basis of nationality. He will insist that race and nationality have nothing to do with the capacity of immigrants to learn American ways and that we should select the superior persons from all races and countries. On the other hand, the person who approaches the problem solely from the standpoint of the way he was taught to think about Chinese and Japanese during the Second World War may feel very strongly that we should discriminate in favor of the Chinese.

"Love is blind," we say, and the same thing might be said more truthfully about hate. Highly emotional states congeal reason. They give us powerful motives for wanting certain outcomes to situations, but they do not help us to think clearly about them. We have all observed leaders in public life who seemed to be controlled by consuming hate, and often we note that their reasoning is pitiful. Conversely, the effects of party loyalty in unbalancing reason have been the subjects of many jokes and the cause of not a few tragedies.

Consider how an individual's thinking might be affected in facing a problem if the images called to mind evoke shame, sorrow, humiliation, or jealousy. His wounded feelings of self-importance are apt to take charge of the situation at once. Unless he has disciplined himself severely to

be aware of these dangers to thought, he is likely to meet this new situation in ways of which he will be ashamed at some future time.

Fears and Prejudices Warp Judgment. Most powerful of all emotional blocks to thought is fear. We give way to fear when we are faced by threatening situations—problems which we cannot solve, real or imaginary social dangers which we cannot control or do not know how to meet. Individuals often fear to be “different”; they do not want to be considered “queer.” No matter how aware they may be of a social evil, they keep silent for fear of being labeled “radicals,” “reactionaries,” or “crackpots.” The man who fears loss of his job may be constrained to excessive caution. But fear is just as apt to make us commit irrational acts as to keep us quiet. The employer who fears his workmen may be arbitrary and unreasonable. The politician who is convinced that “grass will grow in the streets” if his opponent is elected may say and do things that strike the unemotional as absurd. The individual who fears economic depression and unemployment may lash out wildly at “Jews,” “Negroes,” “Communists,” or “labor racketeers,” prevented by his panic from attempting to reason about the real causes for danger.

Prejudice, in some forms, is closely related to fear. For instance, the strongest prejudice against minority groups is apparent when they are believed to threaten established power or the livelihood of other groups in the population. The Socialist party is ignored by Democrats and Republicans until it threatens to win an election. One after another, the Irish, Germans, Italians, Greeks, Chinese, Japanese, and Mexicans have been the objects of prejudice and discrimination when they competed with labor or small farmers. “Bad” people when they were in competition, they became “good” people when they found a place in the economic

order and fear of them subdued. Fears imbed prejudices so deeply that we are inclined to prejudge scores of situations without reasoning. Many people seem to give way entirely to feeling when relations with Negroes, Japanese, or Mexicans are mentioned. To a few Protestants there are simply no good Catholics or Jews. Businessmen who fear the encroachment of government power plead with us to embrace a "sound" economics and to avoid the "blight of bureaucracy."

We Give Ourselves an "Out." When we let feeling determine our attitudes and actions and substitute emotion for thought, we do not like to admit it even to ourselves. To do so would be to lose self-esteem. So we rationalize our behavior. Rationalizing is a word used to describe giving "good" or impressive reasons for an attitude or act in order to avoid giving the real reasons. The partisan's real reason for supporting his ticket may be that he wants to be appointed to a job, but he is apt to offer many high-sounding arguments far removed from this simple and compelling motive. In fact, the campaign platform of the party may be only an elaborate rationalization, a collection of evasive statements designed to appeal to fear and prejudice rather than to throw light on problems.

Because of the human tendency to rationalize, many controversial discussions reveal no search for facts or truth. Each party to the argument knows in advance the answer he wishes to reach, so he tries to think of arguments to buttress his prejudice. Since many of the most vitally important questions of our time are controversial questions, a great deal of ill will is developed that helps not at all in solving problems.

It was probably reflection upon the way we substitute emotion for thought that led Bertrand Russell to write in *Why Men Fight*

Men fear thought as they fear nothing else on earth—more

than ruin, more even than death. Thought is subversive and revolutionary, destructive and terrible; thought is merciless to privilege, established institutions, and comfortable habits; thought is anarchic and lawless, indifferent to authority, careless of the well-tried wisdom of the ages. Thought looks into the pit of hell and is not afraid.

Logical Thinking Easier Said than Done

Even when we try hardest to ignore our feelings and put aside our prejudices, we are apt to find logical reasoning difficult. Unless we are cautious, we are forever "jumping to conclusions" on the basis of half-truths or insufficient evidence. Let us discuss briefly a few simple facts about logical thinking. We can thus set up a basis for self-criticism and place ourselves on guard against the more flagrant violations of logic encountered in controversial discussion.

Reasoning may be either inductive or deductive in method. Inductive reasoning proceeds from the parts to the whole; that is, from particulars to a general conclusion. Deductive reasoning proceeds from the whole to the parts or from an established principle to a particular conclusion.

Reasoning by Induction. It is clear that if we are to reason from particulars and details to a perfect generalization, we must examine all possible cases before we reach a conclusion. This can be done in a very limited area where the evidence is concrete in nature. For instance, you might enter an orchard containing one hundred apple trees. If you examined every tree, you might announce without hesitation the conclusion, "Every apple in this orchard is Grimes Golden."

In actual practice a good deal of very useful inductive reasoning is done on the basis of "sampling," however, because it is impossible to study every possible case that might bear on a problem. If the samples chosen are representative,

we conclude that it is probable that an accurate generalization can be made. For instance, a chemist who wished to test several large lots of food for purity would test a sample of each one, then announce his conclusion.

Or suppose that we wanted to try to determine whether County X would be carried by the Republicans or the Democrats in an approaching election. It would be impossible to interview all voters, so we must make an inference (that is, draw a conclusion) from a carefully chosen sample. We know that 75 percent of the county's voting population are white, 25 percent black. We know, too, that roughly 5 percent of the population have incomes above \$5000 per year, another 15 percent have incomes above \$2000 per year, and the remainder have incomes below this latter figure. About 60 percent of the voting population are farmers and farm wives, 20 percent are retail businessmen or other persons engaged in selling some product or service, 15 percent are town housewives engaged in homemaking only, and the remainder are professional people. Now by taking a large sample of the party preferences of voters chosen from over the county and distributed roughly according to the percentages given above, we might be able to make a fairly accurate generalization as to which party will carry the county.

It will occur to you at once that this is a simplified description of the methods used in the polls of opinion of which we hear so much. We shall have more to say of them later in this chapter.

Inductive reasoning is the method of scientists. For instance, if a group of scientists wanted to know whether rats carry a certain disease, they would probably trap thousands of rats and perform tests before reaching a conclusion.

Probability reasoning is extremely useful if we recognize its limitations in specific cases. For example, in the sample

of voter preference outlined above, we should need to draw our conclusions very carefully so as not to make them more sweeping than the evidence justified.

This idea brings us to the most usual abuse of inductive reasoning by individuals who like to draw sweeping conclusions. We are decidedly prone to make hasty generalizations. We draw conclusions from too few instances. An example of such reasoning is illustrated by the person who declares:

Unemployment insurance made my uncle in Los Angeles lazy.

It also made an acquaintance in Denver lazy.

Therefore, unemployment insurance makes all men lazy.

Hardly a day passes that we do not hear various assertions that we can recognize as inductive generalizations based upon very limited evidence. "The clerks in the stores are very rude lately!" exclaims a woman who has been treated curtly by one or two persons. "The farmers will certainly vote against this administration," states a man who forgets that there are more than six million farmers in the United States of whom he knows only a dozen. It is apparent that a great deal of harm might be done if we accept such superficial declarations as truth when discussing serious problems.

The check on false inductive reasoning is to test the evidence. Does it rest on prejudice? Have enough cases been observed critically to draw sound conclusions? Can the evidence be verified? A large percentage of the generalizations that many persons toss out so freely seem very hollow when critically examined.

Reasoning by Deduction. The method of deduction reverses the inductive method. As we noted, deductive reasoning proceeds from an established principle to a particular conclusion. We take a general law or principle and apply it to a specific case.

All men are mortal
James is a man
Hence, James is mortal

The procedure followed in deductive reasoning is called the syllogism. It is illustrated by the example above. The first statement of general principle is the major premise. The second statement, which gives one instance of the principle, is called the minor premise. The third statement is the conclusion.

Deduction is the method followed in legal thinking, as illustrated by the syllogism.

All persons found guilty of violating such and such a law
shall be fined or imprisoned (*Major premise*)
John Doe has been found guilty of violating such and such
a law (*Minor premise*)
John Doe shall be fined or imprisoned (*Conclusion*)

This method of reasoning seems very easy and we might imagine that errors and logical absurdities are rare when deduction is used. Not so, however, for it is possible that either one of the three steps will be at fault in a syllogism. Either the major or the minor premise may be false or the conclusion may not logically follow from the premises. Examine the three syllogisms which follow and find the error in each one.

The will of the majority is the will of God
It is the will of the majority that we go to war
Therefore, it is God's will that we go to war

All persons who willfully injure this city are bad citizens
Those who say the health ordinances should be enforced are
injuring the city.
Therefore, those who say the health ordinances should be
enforced are bad citizens

One principal trouble with this country is greed.

Some Methodists are greedy.

Hence, Methodists are to blame for a principal trouble of this country.

It is well to form the habit of thinking about the unexpressed premises which lie behind some of the irresponsible conclusions which we often hear stated. What, for instance, are the unexpressed generalizations behind these assertions?

"You can't expect honesty; he is a lawyer."

"Vote for Bill Smith; he's a legionnaire."

"Oh, he is merely an idealist!"

"I know it's true, for I read it in a magazine."

The foregoing examples of logical fallacies illustrate kinds of loose thinking which are shockingly common. Those who form the habit of critical reading note many such logical errors either expressed or implied in conversations, speeches, editorials, articles, columns, books, and even court decisions. Sometimes the faulty reasoning is hard to detect because it is expressed in high-sounding language, but once the reader lays bare the skeleton of the thought involved, he can see the logical absurdities. In the remaining chapters of this book we shall discuss some of the most important problems facing society. If we are keenly aware that "logical thinking is easier said than done," we shall be on guard against our own mistakes and alert for the errors made by others.

Enemies of Responsible Thinking. Our thought processes are one thing for which we cannot blame other people entirely. Thought cannot be rationed, nor can it be controlled or directed if we are determined to investigate, read, observe, and reason. Of course, there are many people anxious to tell us what to think, as we shall see, but if we are critically aware of how to think, we shall not become easy victims.

There are several common sources of error in thinking of

which we should be especially aware as we reflect upon the problems which we shall study. Let us note and illustrate these sources briefly.

First, the assumption that because two events occur about the same time they are related.

(Example Many men were out of work here last year. A thousand Negroes moved into the community.)

Second, the belief that because one event precedes another the first is the cause of the second.

(Example We had Hoover, then we had a depression.)

Third, the tendency to draw conclusions from unrelated or irrelevant "evidence."

(Examples "Pigs are well named because they are so dirty." Poor people are inferior because they do not have bathtubs in their houses.)

Fourth the misleading use of analogies. An analogy is a form of comparison in which it is reasoned that if two things agree with one another in one or more respects they will agree in all respects.

(Example Running a government (or a business) is like driving an automobile. One person must be in the driver's seat.)

Fifth the danger of setting up false dilemmas. A dilemma is a statement which offers two or more choices neither of which is desirable.

(Example "Business" will either recover from depression or not recover. If it recovers, no government "interference" is necessary. If it doesn't recover, government "interference" will do no good.)

Word Troubles Separate Minds

On the Nature of Words. "Word troubles" are closely related to thought influenced by feelings and to logical

errors. The use made of words may illustrate one or the other or both of these. To understand this point let us reflect briefly on the nature of words.

Words are symbols. That is, they are sounds which bring to our minds images of things. The word "horse" means nothing in itself, as you might learn if you use it to a Frenchman. The Frenchman uses the word "cheval," you use the word "horse," but you both mean the same thing. So it is with dog, cat, medal, wedding ring, the flag, the cross; sounds bring those pictures to your mind. All the persons who speak a particular language have been taught a set of sounds to stand for certain images.

Bear in mind, though, that words not only bring images to mind, they also arouse feelings. Take the word "medal." You doubtless have in mind the picture of a medal, perhaps several different pictures of various kinds of medals. But if you have ever taken a keen interest in a contest for a medal, the word also arouses feelings, either pleasant or unpleasant. The word "flag" or the phrase "stars and stripes" evokes an image and certain feelings of pride and loyalty. As we noted at the first of this chapter, the nature of the feeling aroused by various words will be determined by our earlier experiences.

The last two paragraphs can be summarized by saying that words have both definitions and connotations. If you want to know the definition of a word you go to the dictionary. There you find an explanation of the ways in which the word has come to be defined through usage. The dictionary explains the limits of the word's use and gives synonyms for it. But you will not find the connotations of the word recorded there. The term connotation refers to all the different ideas and feelings in addition to its meaning which a word suggests to us.

Let's say it this way. The use of a word both informs and

affects us. The dictionary will explain how the word informs. But our own experience will explain how we are affected or influenced. Not only our first-hand experience, but all the traditions, prejudices, information, and misinformation which shape our attitudes will enter into the connotation and thus help determine the total meaning which the word has for us. Reflect, for example, upon the definitions and the connotations of such words and phrases as home, brother, sister, church, synagogue, cathedral, school days, and home town.

Abstract Words Some words are specific, they stand for definite things—objects at which we might point when we mention them. Other words lack this concreteness, they refer to groups or classes of things or to qualities or relationships. Such words we call abstractions. For instance, we often hear used such terms as “the courts,” “the business world,” “mankind,” “human nature,” “freedom,” “the administration,” and “the American way.”

It is these abstract words and phrases which get us into trouble—which lead to misunderstanding. When we use such concrete words as “house,” “dog,” “chair,” we can indicate specifically what they mean. There is little room for confusion. But when we use abstract words and phrases we cannot identify them with actual objects. They have no “referents”, that is, the persons hearing them cannot recall a definite, specific image with which to associate them. Consider, for instance, the vagueness of such terms as “liberty,” “justice,” “the average man,” “bureaucracy,” “prosperity,” and “Americanism.”

The use of such words in discussion does affect us, though. They have meanings for us, but their meanings are often more largely due to their connotations than to their definitions. While there is no one definite object that everyone thinks of when the word or phrase is used, everyone has had

some experience which has colored the meaning of the word or phrase for him. What this amounts to in practice is that such terms are apt to have a special meaning to each one of us, at least to some extent.

Let us take the term "human nature" as an example. How often we have heard people attempt to settle a question off-hand by saying, "Oh, that's human nature!" When people make such remarks, they assume that everyone present is thinking the same thing. But are they? One person may think that man is by nature cruel and selfish. Another may think that he is kindly and generous. A third may think that man is neither "good" nor "bad" by nature but that he becomes one or the other according to his environment and experience. We need to think only a moment to realize that the ideas we take for granted about human nature will have a vast and far-reaching influence on our beliefs about education, war, crime, and various other social problems. In any discussion in which our ideas about human nature are important, it is going to be hard to get a meeting of minds. Two persons are apt to be using the same words over and over yet meaning something different.

Each of these abstract words and phrases is like the generalization in logical thinking. Our observation, reading, and thought have led each one of us to generalize about what a word or a phrase means. Though our generalizations do not agree, we use them as though they were established logical fact. Often our ideas about meanings are prejudiced and misinformed. Their use affects our reasoning just as the use of any other kind of false generalization might affect it. How disastrous the results when we engage in controversy!

The following quotation points out in an amusing way the number of abstract words which we use vaguely in the discussion of public affairs:

Corporations fill but one cage in a large menagerie. Let us

glance at some of the other queer creatures created by personifying abstractions in America. Here in the center is a vast figure called the Nation—majestic and wrapped in the *Flag*. When it sternly raises its arm, we are ready to die for it. Close behind rears a sinister shape, the *Government*. Following it is one even more sinister, *Bureaucracy*. Both are festooned with the writhing serpents of *Red Tape*. High in the heavens is the *Constitution*—a kind of a chalice like the Holy Grail suffused with ethereal light. It must never be joggled. Below floats the *Supreme Court*, a black-robed priesthood tending the eternal fire. The Supreme Court must be addressed with respect or it will neglect the fire and the Constitution will go out. This is synonymous with the end of the world. Somewhere above the Rocky Mountains are lodged the vast stone tablets of the *Law*. We are governed not by men but by these tablets. Near them, in satin breeches and silver buckles, pose the stern figures of our *Forefathers*, contemplating glumly the nation they brought to birth. The onion-shaped demon cowering behind the Constitution is *Private Property*. Higher than Court, Flag, or the Law, close to the sun itself and almost as bright, is *Progress*, the ultimate God of America.

Looming along the coasts are two horrid monsters, with scaly paws outstretched, *Fascism* and *Communism*. Confronting them, shield in hand and a little crosseyed from trying to watch both at once, is the colossal figure of *Democracy*. Will he fend them off? We wring our hands in supplication, while admonishing the young that governments, especially democratic governments, are incapable of sensible action. From Atlantic to Pacific a huge, corpulent shape entitled *Business* pursues a slim, elusive Confidence, with a singular lack of success. The little trembling ghost down in the corner of Massachusetts, enclosed in a barrel, is *The Taxpayer*. *Liberty*, in diaphanous draperies, leaps from cloud to cloud, lovely and unapproachable.

Here are the *Masses*, thick, black, and squirming. This demon must be firmly sat upon, if it gets up, terrible things will happen. the Constitution may be joggled—anything *Capital* her skirts above her knees, is preparing to leave the

country at the drop of a hairpin, but never departs. Skulking from city to city goes *Crime*, a red, loathsome beast, upon which the Law is forever trying to drop a monolith, but its aim is poor. . . . Here is the dual shape of *Labor*—for some a vast, dirty, clutching hand, for others a Galahad in armor. Pacing to and fro with remorseless tread are *the Trusts* and *the Utilities*, bloated, unclean monsters with enormous biceps. Here is *Wall Street*, a crouching dragon ready to spring upon assets not already nailed down in any other section of the country. *The Consumer*, a pathetic figure in a gray shawl, goes wearily to market. Capital and Labor each give her a kick as she passes, while *Commercial Advertising*, a playful sprite, squirts perfume into her eyes.¹

“Loaded” Words. What have been called “loaded” words come about because of our tendency to freight abstractions with feeling. Imagine yourself reading in your newspaper that, “Mr. Sam Sharp of Milwaukee addressed a large audience upon the need for a constitutional amendment which would enable Congress to regulate directly those corporations which do an interstate and international business.” You might glance over the item with casual interest and turn away. But consider the effect of the story if the reporter had written, “Sam Sharp, a crackpot from Milwaukee, hotbed of radicalism, harangued the audience against our sacred Constitution and the institution of private property.”

The loaded words in this sentence are easy to pick out: crackpot, hotbed, radicalism, harangued, sacred, Constitution, private property. Some of these are “bad” words; they arouse negative feelings or even hostility. Others are “good” words, evoking pleasant feelings of agreement.

We see instances every day of the way mere words influence the judgments and attitudes of people. Businessmen who

¹Chase, Stuart, *The Tyranny of Words*. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1938. pp. 23-25. (Italics inserted by authors.)

reject a "government subsidy" in horror are willing to accept help if it is called "cost relief." Farmers, also, fear the word "subsidy," but they are eager to get "soil conservation payments." Some persons call the city ownership of water-works "Communism," others call it "sound" business. An editorial writer is willing to accept "scientific prison reform," but denounces "sentimental coddling of criminals."

There are words and phrases which are frequently used as epithets—that is, "bad names"—in current controversy. Some of those which you have heard most frequently in recent years are "red," "radical," "reactionary," "bourbon," "tory," and "starry-eyed dreamer." Epithets are used deliberately by those who wish to evoke feeling rather than thought. They are intended to discredit the person spoken about. Consider the contrast between speaking of a man or a measure in such terms and speaking of him as "realistic," "noble," "statesmanlike," or "humanitarian."

How Shall We Learn the Facts?

No people in the world have more words rained upon them than those of us who live in the United States. Two-thirds of the population visit a motion picture theater at least once each week. Probably 45 million receiving sets are tuned to one or more of several hundred radio broadcasting stations daily. More than 1800 daily newspapers circulate to some 45 million readers. The dailies are supplemented by over 10,000 other newspapers which appear from one to three times weekly. Each month the public buys several million magazines, each year, about 350 million books and pamphlets. In addition, hundreds of organizations—labor unions, trade associations, reform bodies, churches, farm associations, patriotic societies, government agencies—shower us with handbills, letters, circulars presenting their special point of view.

Words, words—deluge after deluge of words! Yet so few of us are prepared to listen discriminatingly or to think critically! How can we know the facts about the many urgent questions of our time? Upon what basis can we make intelligent decisions?

Group Influences on Judgments and Opinions. The underlying attitudes which we bring to reading, listening, and observation are the result of group influences upon us. From infancy we are subject to the influences of family, playground, school, neighborhood, and similar intimate groupings. As we grow older we choose membership in other groups: clubs, churches, political parties, work groups of various kinds. We work for the approval of our fellows in such groups and tend to accept uncritically their traditions, prejudices, and opinions. They determine the things we value and the things we fear. According to our association with these groups, we vary in our attitudes on race, religion, education, politics, and economic affairs.

Except in times of excitement or danger, our opinions on many issues are determined quite largely by the groups in which we are especially interested. The public breaks up into "special interest" groups, such as farm groups, industrial manufacturers, labor groups, trade associations, professional societies, reform bodies, and religious groupings. There are numerous crosscurrents of opinion. People favor different policies or favor the same policies for different reasons. A contest goes on continually between various groups for influence and power in public affairs.

Periods of crisis, such as the danger of depression or the threat of war, bring about a larger measure of agreement. Threat of business depression, for instance, may unite many farmers, laborers, and men operating small business concerns. Forgetting their minor differences temporarily, people from these various interests join in support of the leaders

who are believed to have the most effective program for avoiding economic disaster. Political party leaders, aware of the many influences upon us, attempt to unite as many groups as possible at election time. They predict dire consequences in case of their defeat and try to inspire confidence in the ability of their candidates.

In the constant effort to influence the public, a few agencies are of central importance. Sometimes they operate to buttress our prejudices, sometimes to help us form more thoughtful judgments. Whatever their influence at a particular time, they are always with us. Let us consider briefly the importance of radio, motion pictures, newspapers, commercial advertising, and opinion polls.

The Radio and Public Opinion The radio stands at the very center of what has been called "the opinion industry" in the United States. Nine out of ten homes are equipped with sets and there are thousands of radios in automobiles, offices, and schools. Day after day millions of people hear the same music, newscasts, dramatic skits, and commercial "plugs." War news and political developments are dramatically reviewed. Household hints, farm suggestions, market reports, and lectures on literature, religion, art, and other topics are scattered among entertainment programs.

The undoubted values of radio are conspicuous. It tends to unify the nation and to some extent the world. American radio maintains a high standard of excellence in many programs. The recounting and analyzing of news help to keep the public, even the nonreading public, aware of events. Radio appeals to every taste and interest by a variety of programs. Interest in reading is stimulated. Schools, churches, and welfare agencies are given support. The voices of statesmen and scholars are brought to every fireside. In time of crisis the crystallization of opinion is stimulated and political action is hastened.

Yet radio is not without critics and much that they say provokes thought. Broadcasting provides opportunity to confuse and divide the public as well as to unify it. Misinformation and prejudice are as easily transmitted as scientific fact. The criticism most often heard is that radio support is too largely dependent on the sale of advertising.² The public is thus deprived of opportunity to hear the champions of minority and reform groups who have important messages but little money. Educational programs are crowded off the hours when the listening public is greatest. Small advertisers are handicapped in competition with business giants. Various proposals for radio control have emphasized plans for making the more popular and instructive programs less dependent on commercial sponsors.

Motion Pictures Influence Opinions. An agency which reaches a weekly audience exceeding 200 million, almost one-half that number in the United States alone, is undoubtedly a major influence on popular attitudes. Such is the motion picture. Its influence on dress, manners, and speech is apparent. More subtle, and much more important, is the influence of screen entertainment on ideas of marriage, race relations, politics, education, vocational success, leisure-time activity, and scores of other matters.

That the motion picture has contributed many social benefits cannot be denied. It has provided inexpensive entertainment, promoted interest in reading and travel, and probably influenced the determination of millions to raise their standard of living. To some extent it has helped to overcome sectional differences in the United States and to promote good will in foreign countries.

The most usual criticisms of movies arise from the fact

² . . . by 1941 eleven advertisers accounted for over 50 percent of the network revenue of all the national networks in the United States" B. B. Smith, "What's Wrong with the Broadcasters," in *Harper's*, June, 1942, p. 84.

that they have been developed primarily as a business, only secondarily as an art. The principal measure of their success has been their box-office attraction. In the belief that public demand is being met, producers have overemphasized sex, violence, and intemperance. Sentimental and distorted plots misrepresent and oversimplify our relations with one another.

It is sometimes declared, also, that movies are used as deliberate propaganda. William Albright wrote several years ago,

The newsreel has been quite widely used for propaganda purposes. For example, in 1934 the producers were in agreement as to the undesirability of Upton Sinclair as governor of California. By selection of personality types, the pro-Merrill supporters appeared as decent, respectable citizens, whereas the pro-Sinclair speakers were funny, bleary-eyed, shabby men and women who stammered and squawked before the camera. Indeed, political propaganda has become notorious in the newsreels. There has been a considerable amount of "big-navy," anti-prohibition, anti-communism and anti-strike propaganda. This does not mean that the newsreels are pro-Fascist propaganda, as a certain radical group has latterly protested. But they do reflect the political and economic ideology of their producers. And the content of these pictures follows a rather simple and incomplete pattern of news reporting. A League of Nations committee, deploring the intensely nationalistic propaganda of most newsreels, has recently made extensive recommendations for the injection of more international propaganda into them.¹

We need reflect only a moment to realize what great harm might be done by the use of motion pictures to hold up false ideas of individual success, glorify violence, or cultivate intolerance between nations and races.

¹Public Opinion McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939 p. 369

The Press and the Public. Most widely influential of the products of the press are the newspapers, particularly the great city dailies. The outspoken independence of some American newspapers has long contrasted sharply with the lack of press freedom in certain other countries. The French press, for instance, was for years notoriously partisan and corrupt. The German, Italian, and Russian press have long been the tools of dictators. Beside these our American newspapers are models of freedom and impartiality. Newspapers in such countries as England, Switzerland, Sweden, South Africa, Canada, and Australia are much like those in the United States in the freedom which they exercise.

A large part of the appeal of American newspapers arises from their efficiency. They offer something to every one, from the "half-literate" who look only at the comic strips, to the intellectual who devour news, editorials, and columns. The giant press associations, such as United Press, Associated Press, and International News Service, extend their coverage throughout the world. Washington correspondents and political reporters and commentators gather political news. Editorial writers and columnists comment and dissect. Special sections for housewives and children are expertly written. Appeals are made to those interested in sports, crime, and prominent personalities.

The ideal for newspapers in a democracy is that they should report all the news accurately and impartially. Editorials, special columns, advertising, and other frank attempts to influence attitudes and opinions should be set apart from news sections or plainly labeled. There are undoubtedly papers which attempt to live up to this standard day in and day out.

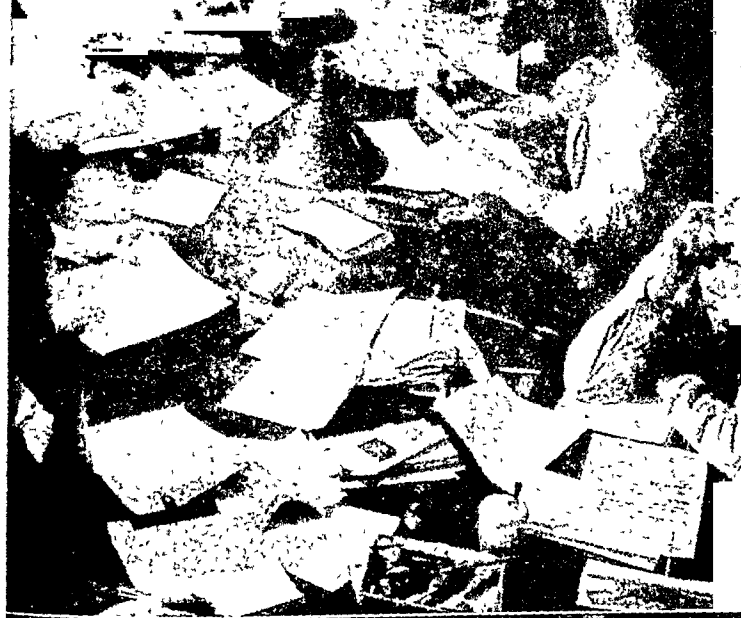
The principal criticisms of this branch of the press are provoked by many instances of unintentional or deliberate violation of this code. It often is pointed out that metropoli-

tan dailies are "big business" and as such they frequently reveal obvious bias on problems related to labor, taxation, and finance. If this bias appeared only in editorials and signed columns the public could not complain. But when it leads to "slanting" stories, omitting or "playing down" items, or trying to destroy confidence in representative government it becomes a threat to democratic institutions.

Another type of criticism of many newspapers is not without foundation, namely, the charge that they are prone to distortion, exaggeration, and sensationalism. Flagrant headlines sell papers, but they also promote nervousness and worry among the public. Overemphasis of sex, crime, and intemperance tends to glorify antisocial behavior. Too much emphasis on cartoons and "comic" strips encourages mental laziness, childish heroics, and stereotyped thinking.

Magazines reach a smaller reading public than newspapers, but they have an important influence on attitudes and opinions. The popular news magazines give weekly summaries of events in a stimulating style, though not without bias. Journals of opinion are frankly critical and influence large numbers of thoughtful people. Even those periodicals which run only fiction and superficial popular articles affect us by their selection of materials and by the ideals of love, marriage, and social success which they set forth.

The thousands of books sold in the United States every day are adapted to many tastes and interests. Few are so banal or distorted that they do not affect their readers' attitudes toward life and society in some way. Critical persons find encouragement, however, in the increasing public interest in books of serious intent and in the fact that the classics of literature and thought continue to be read by many thousands year in and year out. Books are written by men and women, so reflect their prejudices. To some extent, too, they reflect the prejudices of publishers and editors.



Photos by New York Times & Public Schools, Madison, Wisconsin

SERVING THE PRESS AND THE PUBLIC

The editors of a school paper as well as the re-write men on a large metropolitan daily have the obligation of reporting news accurately and impartially.

Inevitably, when so many books are being published, a large number of them will prove to be temporary in their interest and influence. But when all these shortcomings have been noted, it still remains true that books are our most reliable storehouses of information and guidance. We need only to learn how to read them thoughtfully.

Polls of Opinion So much popularity has been developed by opinion polls that they probably deserve more critical thought than they get from citizens and voters. Attempts have been made to forecast election outcomes, to determine what problems the public regards as most urgent, and to find out what proportion of the public favors or opposes a given policy. Do such polls faithfully record the prejudices and beliefs of the population in a representative manner? Or should they be looked upon as attempts to influence people toward certain beliefs?

Opinion is sharply divided. For instance, some congressmen are said to be greatly influenced by polls while others regard them with indifference. The champions of this device usually admit that it could be abused easily, but insist that the more reputable polls are carefully conducted and give reliable indications of public opinions. Every effort is made, they say, to sample the population in a representative manner and to exclude "loaded" words and questions. Much thought goes into the conduct of polls and they are constantly improving in accuracy. The undoubted fact that they often reveal the ignorance and confusion of the public is itself a useful service, not an argument against the polls themselves.

Critics of polls attack them as misleading and inaccurate. It is charged that they give a distorted view of opinion simply by ignoring many important controversial questions. They often oversimplify issues or use abstract words which mean all things to all men. They foster the idea that the

majority is always right and encourage the superficially minded to "jump on the band wagon."

Students should realize that polls of opinion are apt to continue in popularity and to be improved in method. The very nature of the discussion over them indicates, however, that they should be regarded with a critical eye.

Commercial Advertising. Radio, movies, newspapers, magazines—these are the principal mediums for the constant barrage of commercial advertising directed at the public. Though we know that the motive behind most advertising is strictly selfish, we are nevertheless influenced, due both to the persistence of advertisers and to the genuine effectiveness of their appeals. Advertising experts know how to appeal to vanity, avarice, pride, shame, snobbishness, and fear.⁴ They know the value and the art of associating their products with emotionally appealing home scenes, babies, beautiful women, virile men, white-clad physicians, and learned scientists. They are aware of the influence of slogans and catch-words on the attitudes of the uncritical.

The annual commercial advertising bill of the United States has been estimated at 2 billion dollars. This is roughly the amount spent for the support of schools and colleges. Such expenditures are justified by the defenders of advertising on the ground that it informs consumers and stimulates sales, thus indirectly promoting increased production and low prices. Critics condemn the extreme lengths to which advertising has been carried on the ground that such excesses are uneconomical. They argue that advertising produces no economic goods and that it promotes wasteful and misguided spending on the part of the public. Whatever the truth in these claims, the critical person should be aware of

⁴Take fear as an illustration. The conservative fear change; the adult fear approaching age; the youthful fear that they will be different. Women are inclined to fear that they will not be admired, men that they will not be virile and muscular.

the importance of this influence upon popular tastes and attitudes

The Methods of Propagandists. The propagandist makes use of methods first developed by commercial advertisers.² Whatever his cause, he operates in a manner similar to that of the salesman. His purpose is to persuade others to oppose or to favor an idea or a course of action.

Propaganda is neither "good" nor "bad" in itself, though the very word seems to arouse hostility in some people. The Red Cross, the American Friends' Service Committee, the United States Public Health Service, local community chests, and scores of other agencies sponsoring programs of service make effective use of propaganda. Few people object because we are aware that such agencies have humanitarian and educational purposes about which they are quite frank. Whether propaganda is socially useful or is apt to be harmful to the general welfare turns largely on the motives behind it. It is also important whether the motives are open or concealed. If trade associations organize "educational" societies or armament companies set up "patriotic" associations, we have ground for suspecting whatever propaganda they may issue.

The term propaganda has come to have sinister connotations for many people because they are aware of some of the methods which have been used to distort truth, confuse thought, and promote the interests of the few over those of the many. We have become "propaganda wise" and alert for such devices as those pointed out by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, which may be listed as follows:

²In fact, the commercial advertiser may himself become a propagandist. If the object of his advertisement is to sell a specified product, his appeal is straightforward advertising. But if the intent of the advertisement is for instance to boast that his factory has patriotically aided the war effort, which helps to maintain "the American way of life," and to suggest that consistency with the American way requires that his taxes should be lowered, he is propagandizing.

1. *Name calling*

(The epithets and loaded words which we have noted: "yellow dog," "sucker," "crackpot," "radical," "reactionary," "bourbon.")

2. *Glittering generalities*

(The abstract words which we discussed: "liberty," "truth," "Americanism," "sacred," etc.)

3. *Transfer*

(Associating our feelings of respect for church, school, home, flag, etc., with some kind of special pleading.)

4. *Testimonial*

(Baseball players endorse equipment: actresses, cosmetics.)

5. *Plain folks*

(This candidate for public favor is "one of the people.")

6. *Card stacking*

(Half-truths, misleading statements, false testimony.)

7. *Band wagon*

(You don't want to be "different"! Jump on!)

Much of the special pleading which we call propaganda cannot be avoided today, nor do we necessarily want to avoid it. We expect both labor unions and industrial associations to claim, honestly believing their own words, that they are the true builders of prosperity and freedom. We are resigned to having ambitious individuals, even presidential candidates, "built up" by elaborate publicity. Each of us is inclined to rejoice when some group in which we are interested makes an effective appeal. We recognize that the many interests of our time and the eagerness of the public for information and entertainment make dramatic appeals inevitable.

This concession can be made, however, without relaxing our vigilance. If we are to be free to make our own choices and our own mistakes, then we must be aware of the nature

of our sources of information and advice. Informed and critical persons are hard to deceive.

Can We Avoid Conscript Minds? It has been pointed out often that there are many groups, even whole nations, in the world today who seem to have "conscript minds." This is a "loaded" phrase which implies that such people have abandoned thought and resigned themselves to acceptance of ideas and attitudes dictated by others. Germany's acceptance of Nazi domination provides the classic example. We are familiar with the story of how Nazi leadership persuaded the Germans to abandon the last vestige of individual freedom on the pretense that they needed "discipline," "national honor," "unity," and similar abstractions.

We are fully aware, however, that there are "conscript minds" much closer to us than Europe. Many are sincere persons, but their thought processes seem to have been arrested by prejudice or fear. Others seem to be in bondage to the words, dogmas, and empty shibboleths of their leaders. Yet others are struggling to fasten their form of "conscription" on the rest of us.

It has been the object of this chapter to suggest a few ideas about straight thinking that will help you build up your defenses against mental conscription, that will better enable you to meet your responsibilities as a free citizen of a free society. In other chapters of this book we shall try to apply straight thinking to a few problems. The intent will be to teach you how to think, not what to think. At this point we might note three cautions by way of summary:

- 1 We can take pains to distinguish between words and deeds (Does this man have a program, or is he just talking? Does this organization stand for something, or is it merely against something else?)
- 2 We can practice trying to determine the motives which lie behind propaganda (Is it the object of this speech, article,

or picture to persuade, instruct, or prejudice? To what end?)

3. We can read and listen critically. (This does not mean being carping or quarrelsome. It does mean to practice thinking about the meanings and the logic of what we see and hear.)

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. Give an illustration of the manner in which superstition might distort thinking.
2. Show that if you know what organizations a man has joined you can predict his probable opinions on certain questions.
3. Give an instance from American history of how an immigrant group which was once an object of prejudice has been accepted by most people.
4. State the implied premises behind these conclusions:
 Politics makes strange bedfellows.
 One is a majority with God.
 Beauty is not enough to assure success.
5. "It is the exception that proves the rule." Criticize this statement as an example of faulty reasoning.
6. Listen carefully to the next argument you hear. While the discussion is still clearly in mind, write down the ideas which each party to the argument seems to be "taking for granted." Are these unexpressed generalizations themselves questionable?
7. State briefly what you think each of the following persons might regard as "justice":

A Negro living in Detroit.	An aged woman without in-
A man held in prison for	come.
opposing war.	A wealthy man who pays
	60 percent of his total net
	income for taxes.
8. Why do you suppose there is not more conflict between age

groups in the United States? On what bases could such conflict arise?

- 9 What is the meaning of the term "social status"? Show how social status may influence attitudes and opinions. What are some of the bases of social status?
- 10 Study the advertising in one issue of a nationally circulated magazine. List what you consider the basic appeal made by each advertisement.
- 11 Contrast the advertising in several magazines of various types, for instance, *Harper's Saturday Evening Post*, *Fortune* and *Woman's Home Companion*. To what groups is appeal being made? What motives?
- 12 What is the meaning of the word "censorship"? What are the arguments for and against censorship of radio programs? How might such censorship be organized? Apply the same questions to books, magazines, and newspapers.
- 13 Look up the definition of the word "discipline." What kind of discipline seems to you most necessary if democracy is to work?
- 14 Select the published results of one poll of opinion and analyze them carefully in class. Do the answers given by the majority indicate a clear understanding of the issues? Are the answers consistent? Do you detect any "loaded" questions?
- 15 Someone has pointed out that the high percentage of literacy today makes us more liable to be victimized by propaganda than when few people could read. Comment on this view.

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Photograph by Harris & Ewing

A NATION'S TRIBUTE TO A CHAMPION OF THE COMMON MAN

On the frieze of this Thomas Jefferson Memorial in Washington appears the inscription
"I Have Sworn upon the Altar of God Hostility against Every Form of Tyranny over
Mind of Man"

CHAPTER 2

CAN THE PEOPLE RULE?

- I. WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?
 - 1. Word Trouble
 - 2. Democracy as Ideals
 - 3. Democracy as Self-Government
 - II. THE ATTACK ON POPULAR GOVERNMENT
 - 1. Are the Masses the Enemies of Democracy?
 - 2. Do Involved Problems Defeat Democratic Control?
 - III. IN DEFENSE OF THE PEOPLE
 - 1. The Abilities of Men
 - 2. The Argument from Experience
 - 3. The Real Threats to Democracy
 - IV. CAN THE PEOPLE BE INFORMED?
 - 1. Why Are We Bewildered?
 - 2. Agencies of Opinion
 - 3. The Uses of Propaganda
 - V. WHAT ALTERNATIVES TO DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT?
 - 1. Monarchy and Aristocracy
 - 2. Oligarchy
 - 3. Shall Minorities Rule?
 - VI. ARE THE MASSES RISING?
-

What is Democracy?

Word Trouble. The word "democracy" is one of the oft-abused and frequently confusing words of which we spoke in Chapter 1. Few words are heard more often or suggest a

greater variety of meanings and vague sentiments to those upon whose ears they fall. Requests for definitions of democracy bring such a variety of answers as to indicate that the connotations, the feeling associations, of the term are far more influential than its literal meaning.

Some folks use the word as though it were a form of incantation. Let a problem arise and they call loudly for more or less "democracy." Slogans and catchwords fall glibly from their tongues, they invoke the shades of Jefferson and Lincoln to meet every situation and buttress every prejudice.

Others stress equality and freedom in the use they make of this word. Superficial individuals use it as a hammer to drive home their contention that they are just as "good" as others. More thoughtful persons give equality a wider emphasis. They point out that democracy can recognize no social distinctions or special privileges built on wealth or birth or other artificial measures. Individual freedoms of speech and action cannot long be maintained, they say, unless guaranteed to all alike without regard to race or creed.

There are many people who profess to be confused when the words democracy and democratic are used to refer to the goals toward which we are moving in school, industry, government, and other forms of social organization. "Such use is too vague," they claim, "democracy means self-government, nothing else."

Advocates of broader definition contend that democracy is more than a form of government. Democracy is a social principle, they say. It is a state of mind which leads people to think it desirable and possible to establish equal legal rights for all men, and to abolish special privilege and provide genuine equality of opportunity. When applied to government, democracy means that the final power in politics rests in the hands of the people. This might be as true under the British or Swedish form of monarchy as under the Amer-

ican form of republic. When applied to society as a whole, this principle causes us to strive for a state of civilization imbued throughout with the spirit of tolerance, co-operative effort, and popular control.

Democracy as Ideals. The simplest way to avoid confusion about the meaning of this useful word is to realize that it may be used with equal correctness to express many shades of meaning—some broad, some narrow. This is true because the word has a long history. It reflects the way times have changed and men's interests and opinions have altered from generation to generation.

The dictionary tells us that democracy is derived from a combination of two Greek words and means "the people to be strong or rule." Our forefathers of two centuries ago emphasized political democracy because they were kept from being strong enough to rule by the kings and aristocracies of their time. Other generations of men have emphasized the self-rule of religious groups because they wanted to be free from the domination of a particular church or state. Today we hear a great deal about economic democracy because many people feel that big corporations have so much power that they control too largely the lives and welfare of the masses of men in industrialized societies.

Democracy conceived as a social principle or a "way of life" is *ethical* in its implications and *idealistic* in its emphasis. It derives directly from the Jewish-Christian religious teachings of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Once men came to believe that they were equal in the sight of God, it was a short and logical step to assume that they were equal before the law. The central Christian tenet of the inestimable worth of the individual person is the very heart of democratic doctrine. It imparts dignity to the common man and gives him a sense of responsibility for his fellows. He conceives the welfare of the people—individual.

persons, that is—as the true end of all social effort and comes to believe that the masses of men are more capable of judging what is good for them in the long run than any groups or cliques which might seize or inherit power. Men who believe in their own creative abilities are encouraged to dream about the good life which they would build for themselves and their children. They lay plans for the society of tomorrow.

Thus we see that democracy conceived as social goals or ways of life emphasizes the *spirit* of institutions rather than their forms. Such stress is of great practical importance to our lives. Ideals provide both the goals and the motive power for our individual and united efforts. They move us to deep feelings, and feelings drive us to action. Today we feel so strongly our commitment to justice, liberty, tolerance, and brotherhood that we feel obliged either to act upon the highest motives or to persuade ourselves and others by elaborate rationalizations that we have done so. *So strong is our belief in the possibility of improving ourselves and our society again and again that we sense that we betray our ideals each time we limit them*¹

The democratic accent on human welfare as the end of social effort makes institutions the servants of men, not their masters. Schools, churches, legal systems, political parties, forms of government—these exist as ways of organizing to promote special phases of human welfare, not as ends in themselves. Several generations of Americans have approved the bold statement made by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence that governments are instituted among men to preserve life, liberty, and happiness, and that they should be changed if they fail in this purpose.

¹Think about this statement. If we believe in the ideal of equal justice under law, do we betray the principle each time some person or group of persons gets less than equal justice? Suggest other applications.

SMITH? KELLY?

COHEN? SVOBODA?

They died together - So that we may live together



Photos from the Institute for American Democracy & General Motors Folks

CAN THE PEOPLE RULE?

Democracy causes us to believe in a state of civilization imbued with a spirit of tolerance, co-operative effort, and popular control.

Democracy as Self Government. This idea of government as a way of organizing to promote the general welfare is especially important. For when we turn from considering the ideals and goals of democracy to discussion of exactly what steps we should take to realize our aims, government becomes central in importance. This is because whatever the people set out to do for themselves must be done largely through government. Political groups—states and nations—are the most numerous of the large and effectively organized forms of social grouping. They have the established legal machinery for action. The aim of all democratic nations is the achievement of *social goals* by *political processes* or methods.

Many people become confused at this point. There are usually two reasons for such confusion. The first is that they identify democracy with a certain form of government. Second, they assume that democracy is something inherited from the past, rather than a state of affairs to be brought about in the present and the future. These errors lead a large number of persons to be perpetually valiant in defense of the courts or the law or other agencies of government as they exist today, whatever their shortcomings, instead of trying to improve them to meet new problems as they arise. We have all known persons who feel that true democrats should memorize the Constitution, rather than to attempt to understand it and the court decisions based upon it, so that they might see ways of strengthening and improving it. The idea that we have inherited democracy from the past, neatly done up in certain documents and institutions, is fatal to progress. We do not struggle for what we think we have already, unless we fear that we shall lose it, and it is very easy to overlook injustice if we assume that our obligations can be discharged by words.

Those who insist that democracy means self-government

are right. The people must be able *to control* and *to use* the agencies of government, if they are to improve their society. But it is equally correct to speak of democracy as a system of ideals. Self-government provides ways of getting things done; ideals give us reasons for making an effort.

The Attack on Popular Government

Are the Masses the Enemies of Democracy? A generation ago Gustave Le Bon wrote, "Had democracies possessed the power they wield today at the time of the invention of mechanical looms, or of the introduction of steampower and of railways, the realization of these inventions would have been impossible or would have been achieved at the cost of revolutions and repeated massacres. It is fortunate for the progress of civilization that the power of crowds only began to exist when the great discoveries of science and industry had already been effected."²

It rarely occurs to most of us that men are perhaps incapable of ruling themselves. We either assume that they can control their government if they want to do so or that democracy exists "in the very nature of things" and will continue to develop however ignorant and indifferent we may remain. But the mistrust of the people expressed by Le Bon is no isolated instance. In every generation since the days of the ancient Greeks, there have been those who have argued seriously that democracy is certain to fail because the masses of men are simply incapable of self-government. Merely because those of us reared in a democratic tradition do not want to believe such things is no reason to dismiss lightly the attacks on democracy. The arguments offered by those who distrust the people are often so challenging that they provoke our best thought as to how we shall meet the problems to which they call attention.

²*The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*. 1897, p. 83.

Self-government is impossible, say the critics, because it means rule by men of average or below-average ability. Not only are the masses of men unintelligent, they are indifferent to public welfare and problems, except as their personal comfort is affected at a particular time. They are suspicious of education and scientific progress and inclined to select leadership from men of ability as limited as their own. They are swayed by emotion, not reason, especially in time of crisis when the dangers are greatest and reason is most essential. Preoccupied with sports and movies, and with their energies given to petty jealousies, they are incapable of taking a serious interest in problems of far-reaching importance.

An extreme form of this line of argument contends that the masses of men are intolerant and brutal. Jealous of their own liberties, they are yet eager to fasten the shackles of restriction upon all who differ from them in race, religion, or economic opinion. Mob action is common, when bodies of men, securely anonymous and drunk with group contagion, commit the most unspeakable deeds. The mob spirit is never far below the surface veneer of civilization, such critics claim, as is attested by the noisy approval which the masses of every nation give to the bloody brutalities committed by their own armies in time of war.

In recent decades it has been popular in some quarters to use arguments from psychology and biology to reinforce the claim that the "average" man is inferior. Schools, churches, and similar agencies can never bring about enough enlightenment to make self-government possible, we are told. The most important mental and moral differences between men are inborn, it is said, and are not significantly affected by teaching. Mental tests are cited as indicating that only a small percentage of any large group of men selected at random have sufficient mentality to understand abstract ideas.

or complex problems. These men tend to fill the professions and the higher ranks of business and industry. The great mass of less able men must seek more humble stations and spend their lives applauding the acts of their more able or spectacular brethren. Those who support this kind of argument often cite differences in wealth and social status as evidences of difference in innate abilities. Or they point to the failure of high schools and colleges to produce from any group more than a few students who take a serious interest in public problems. Such arguments deserve to be considered seriously. How true, or how far from true, are they?

Do Involved Problems Defeat Democratic Control? Another type of skeptic calls attention to the complexity of the problems which must be faced by any people who would control and direct their own government. Increase of population and the advances made by science and technology³ have made our society so intricate that no man can possibly understand more than a fraction of its problems. How, for example, can a man who knows nothing of international trade or finance exert an intelligent influence on his government's commercial policies? How can a farmer judge the relative merits of the claims of industrial management and labor, or a city laborer appreciate the needs and problems of farmer groups? Who knows when he casts his vote for a policy what will be the unforeseen effects of that policy? Technical questions can be dealt with understandingly only by scholars and experts. It is absurd to have the average man voting on them or even selecting the public officers who will decide them, such critics contend.

This combination of complex problems and mass ignorance and incompetence can bring only disaster, wail the pessimists. Men of little ability gain office by flattery, promises, and appeals to prejudice. Once they are in office, the stu-

³Technology: industrial science.

pidity of their leadership endangers the lives and welfare of the very people who elected them. They give way to pressure from first one group and then another in an effort to keep all elements of the population happy. Governments come to have no more sense of direction than the masses who control them. Policies vary with officeholders or are changed overnight in response to mass pressure. Public officials and agencies interfere more and more with private affairs, especially those of business and industry, and cultivate the favor of the voters by propaganda and lavish expenditures on public works.

In Defense of the People

The Abilities of Men Fortunately, democracy has never lacked defenders, and its champions have an advantage in the argument because most of us want to believe that a democratic society is possible and that democratic government can be efficient.

Critics of democracy are measuring it against a standard of perfection, say the defenders. On this scale every social institution is a failure. Neither the church, the school, the family, nor the industrial system is any more perfect than the government. To think straight in this connection, we must distinguish between social democracy and political democracy. The former sets up our goals, our ideals, in all branches of organized life. Political democracy means the control and use of government to attain these goals. We have made great gains along this line within the memory of many living persons. Consider, for example, the many laws aimed to improve the welfare of industry, agriculture, and labor—or the help which we now extend through government agencies to the poor, the sick, and the aged. We cannot expect perfection in government, since each generation has

new problems to meet, but it cannot be denied that government agencies do much more today to promote the general welfare than they did a generation or two generations ago.

The "average man" we hear spoken of so often is not as stupid as he is made to appear, say the democratic champions. The indifference and suspicion of which he is accused have come about because he has been so often deceived. Bear in mind that the aristocratic and the wealthy have been seated astride the necks of the masses throughout most of human history. Even today the "average man" realizes that there is a great difference between the promises and the performance of his leaders in industry and government. He is aware that when selfishness and greed determine policies disaster occurs. It is then his business that declines, his family which suffers, his sons who die upon the fields of battle.

Talk of inborn superiority and inferiority of social classes and races is rank nonsense, and is so understood by authorities, the argument continues. With some people it is a form of ancestor worship; with others, an effort to bolster conceit; and with still others it is an easy justification of social position and privilege. Scientists can tell us very little about the inheritance of mental traits, we are reminded, but it is apparent in every generation that many of the best minds come from families of no wealth or distinction. The percentage probably would be higher if the poor did not have so many difficulties to overcome in securing education. Mental tests are admittedly crude instruments for the measurement of ability. And they leave unmeasured such traits as inventiveness, courage, and initiative, which are of at least equal importance in group life. Contrary to the opinions of those who want all useful traits to run in blood lines, there is much evidence that men are molded by environment and opportunity. The basic need of democracies is for equality of opportunity.

Small wonder, say democracy's defenders, that the masses of men are misled by emotion and appear at times to be intolerant and brutal. Millions of dollars are spent annually by selfish interests in an effort to confuse the public. Men who seek office and power betray their claim to trust by appealing to prejudice and intolerance. Every few years fumbling leadership involves the masses of the world in war and a generation is deliberately trained in cruelty and in indifference to human suffering. The amazing thing is that the fundamental decency and kindness of men enables us to overcome these handicaps sufficiently to make some social progress.

The Argument from Experience The historic lessons of human experience do not bear out the charges that governments which have a large measure of democratic control are inefficient, we are told. Australia, New Zealand, Switzerland, Sweden, Great Britain, the United States—all these are commonwealths in which the final power has long rested in the people, and they have made notable progress in industry and in promoting the public health, welfare, and education. In doing so, the peoples and the governments of these countries have shown themselves able to make use of the teachings of modern science. While mistakes have been made, democratically made decisions seem to be more frequently right and more enduring than those made by aristocracies of wealth or privilege. The peaceful group struggles for influence which take place in democratic nations are an indication of gains, for they have replaced the violent revolutions and bloody factional quarrels of only a few generations ago.

The Real Threats to Democracy What is really disturbing the critics of democracy, say its champions, is that they are afraid it is succeeding. They observe the influence of the common people in forcing reform, especially economic reform, and the increasing volume of social legislation. Be-

cause they fear that this trend threatens their own comfort, they would like to return the whole matter to the realm of theory. As long as we merely talk about equality and freedom, democracy's enemies can join enthusiastically in the discussion. But let us actually do something about it, and they become alarmed at once.

The greatest dangers to democracy, say some thoughtful persons, arise from certain deeper tendencies of which many people are aware only vaguely. Asked to enumerate these, the critics name the following, among others:

1. Growth of the power of giant industrial, trade, and financial institutions over government. So powerful are these agencies, it is charged, that they control the lives and welfare of millions. They fix wages and prices and even determine what goods shall be produced and in what quantities. They ask and receive many special favors from government, regardless of the general welfare.
2. The international alliance of industrial and business corporations. Secret agreements sometimes are made, we are told, between corporations in different nations by which they control and share patents, sales, and profits. Thus the forces of reaction are united throughout the world to fight democracy and prevent the use of the world's goods for the benefit of the people.
3. The growth of "statism." Not only in Germany, Italy, and Japan, but increasingly throughout the world, people are becoming the servants of the state. Governments are more and more regulating the lives and welfare of their citizens. Even democratic states are building up bodies of bureaucrats who constitute a new governing group, too often indifferent to the real spirit of democracy.
4. The tendency within nations of democratic tradition for the public to break up into competing economic groups which fight one another for special privileges. Farmers, laborers, and businessmen must make common cause for freedom and equality of opportunity if democracy is to succeed.

- 5 The trend toward a revival or continuance of militarism, with alliances between strong nations and with armies and navies policing the world Military regunes are rarely tolerant By their very nature they are a constant threat.
- 6 The increasing bitterness between the so called races of mankind, which leads to dissension within the United States and other nations and creates the danger of another and more terrible war
- 7 The timidity and inadequacy of schools, colleges, churches, newspapers and other agencies of public enlightenment Under courageous leadership these agencies could inform the people and perhaps save free institutions

Though admitting the complex nature of some public problems, the defenders of democracy say this point is greatly overemphasized The basic ideals of democracy are easy to understand, and they provide measuring rods by which the public can judge men and measures No special order of intelligence is required to decide whether a sales tax or a tariff is fair to the poor or whether old-age pensions are just Freedom of speech and genuine equality of opportunity for education according to individual interests and abilities present no ideas that are too difficult for the great majority of voters to grasp Security in a job is something which everyone can understand and appreciate People can know whether or not a great deal of effort is being made to bring about these elements of democracy

It is not necessary for every voter to foresee the full consequences of each act of Congress What is more important is that the people be informed on the bigger issues of the time and that they control the men who enact laws and put them into effect Perhaps we should shorten ballots and simplify the structure of government Let the people vote on matters of broad policy and for candidates to the most important offices Make full use of skilled administrators,

scholars, and technical experts in carrying on the day-to-day affairs of government. Promote more honest and impartial discussion of public affairs to counteract the propaganda of special interests.

Can the People Be Informed?

Why Are We Bewildered? Much of the apparent confusion in thought today arises out of deliberate efforts to bewilder the public, it is often charged. To say that the public is confused does not mean that the problems are always complex. It may mean, rather, that there is no desire on the part of many agencies and leaders to inform the "average man" and to have him think straight on the basis of accurate information.

In support of this contention we are reminded that government agencies often distort or withhold the truth in an effort to put themselves in a good light before the voters. The "public relations" programs of industries and trade associations are rarely intended to give unbiased information, we are told. Rather, they are designed to obscure behind platitudes the efforts which are being made to conceal profits, put small competitors out of business, or prevent organized labor from gaining a sympathetic public ear. Every manner of pressure is put upon schools and colleges to prevent them from teaching students how to study public affairs intelligently. "Reform" groups, "patriotic" societies, trade unions, religious bodies and various other agencies which should promote truth and justice merely attempt to force others to their own way of thinking, and call upon the government to help them do so.

Whatever truth may lie in such sweeping assertions, they call our attention to problems of vital importance to the success of democracy. Is it possible to develop an informed and effective public opinion? Can the people be fully in-

formed on any and all public questions? Is information enough, or do men fail to act effectively unless dramatic appeal is made to their feelings?

Agencies of Opinion We shall never know how effective an informed public opinion can be until we give the idea a thorough trial, say democracy's ardent champions. In the United States we do not lack the means, as we have seen. Over 45 million copies of daily newspapers now circulate in this country alone. Weekly and monthly magazines reach many million readers, books and pamphlets are read by hundreds of thousands. Over 30 million homes have radios, which are served by some 700-odd broadcasting stations. There are today almost 25 thousand public high schools and hundreds of colleges, universities and technical schools. Public and private libraries reach additional millions of citizens of all ages and interests. If even a small percentage of these many agencies should set out seriously to overcome prejudice and promote an intelligent understanding of national and international problems, the results would be amazing. The triumphs of peace and justice could be made dramatic. Public-spirited service and sacrifice would receive universal acclaim. Twice within a generation we have made the most cooperative attempt to promote the united effort required by war. Can we not make a similar united effort to persuade men to work for the realization of their ideals?

The Uses of Propaganda We have noted that today the public has need to be informed and critical because of the widespread use of propaganda methods. Such methods are everywhere in use where mass appeal is desired. Government bureaus and public officials seek to extend or justify their policies, war agencies to create united exertion. Philanthropies and business concerns present their activities in a favorable light.

The word "propaganda" is applied to various forms of

appeal which are used in an effort to persuade people to favor or oppose certain ideas or policies. Whether propaganda is harmful or socially useful depends upon who uses it and for what purpose. We may quite properly suspect the impartiality of the professional soldier who urges armament or the public utilities lawyer who attacks public ownership. But few persons resent the appeals of health or educational agencies for the support of their welfare activities.

It cannot be denied, however, that sinister uses of propaganda often are made. The Nazis, following their technique of "divide and conquer," attempted to arouse every type of fear and prejudice in other countries during the Second World War. But such obvious abuses are soon recognized and discredited. More dangerous to democracy in the long run are the more subtle methods by which individuals and groups try to confuse thought and promote private interests through distortion or concealment of the truth.

We observed in Chapter 1 that the methods of propaganda experts are various. Appeals may be made to prejudices between religious, racial, or economic groups. Slogans may be coined to invoke tradition and discourage thought. Name calling is common, as when people are labeled "reds," "reactionaries," or "economic royalists." An idea may be presented with so many "good" words—such as "democratic," "Christian," "just," or "sound"—that a glow of virtue may surround a project of doubtful merit. Two subtle and effective techniques of propaganda often used might be called "selecting our heroes" and "diverting attention." Do the people grumble against industrial giants or political parties? Then "build up" the rustic virtues and simple tastes of leaders in these fields so that they will appear as "men of the people." Do we complain that the poor are hungry and cold? Direct attention to the suffering in Greece, China, or Norway.

What Alternatives to Democratic Self-Government?

"Suppose," say the people's champions, "that we forsake our striving for self-government and the ideals of democracy. What alternatives have we? Who will govern if the people do not?"

Monarchy and Aristocracy Monarchy, or the rule of one, still has its champions in the world. The Hapsburgs of the old Austro-Hungarian empire have pressed their claims to power since their overthrow by the First World War. There are those who continue to hope for the restoration of the Spanish monarchs. We hear frequently the suggestion that the German people have shown themselves incapable of self-government and would be better off and less menacing to the world if the Hohenzollerns were restored to power under a limited monarchy.

The British people continue to take their monarch seriously but to allow him no power. Stripped of authority, he stands as a symbol of empire unity. Within the memory of many people living, a British premier was able to unseat a monarch who proposed to tarnish his glitter as a symbol of superiority by marrying a commoner.

Aristocratic ideals (the idea of the "rule of the best") have had serious advocates in recent years. The older aristocracies of Europe rested on landed wealth, and the "best" were supposed to be those "to the manor born." The American people do not take seriously the proposals to return to this kind of social system. We have always smiled at the pretensions of kings and landed aristocrats. But there are other proposals made from time to time that are not so easily identified as aristocratic in nature. A surprisingly large number of people seem to take first one and then another of these ideas seriously.

There is, for instance, the proposal of an intellectual or

cultural *élite* (select group). Proponents of this idea assume that the masses are incapable of self-government, perhaps incapable even of choosing their rulers. We should have an aristocracy of brains and refinement, they say, held in respect by the people and permitted to govern according to superior wisdom. Just how the members of the *élite* would be determined has never been stated clearly. Some writers seem to assume that rule should be by the wealthy; a few imply that they foresee a government of scholars, artists, and others of the highly educated. Ideas of this kind have been proposed at intervals since the time of Plato, but they are always suggested by those who think that they would be members of the *élite*.

A more dangerous idea is that of a military aristocracy. Prussia has had something of the kind for generations, greatly to the sorrow of the world. This notion is dangerous even to democratic nations, however, because it can be associated with or concealed by other ideas which seem quite reasonable and correct during times of peril. The arguments used run about as follows: Men have always fought, therefore they always will fight. This is human nature and "you can't change human nature." And after all, war has had more good results than bad ones in human history. True, war is cruel and bloody, but it has united peoples into strong nations. Every war period draws nations up to their best effort and leads to new inventions. Wars also promote the noblest of all virtues, national patriotism, and lead men to realize that ideals of human brotherhood are visionary. Therefore, we should be "realistic" and remain continually prepared for war. We should build up a permanent military class and rely on this group to keep us armed and trained for conflict. This class should have large responsibilities and power. Its members should stand as perpetual symbols of the ideal that the noblest pinnacle of man's achievement is

reached when he risks his life on the field of battle, for whatever purpose

A third form of the aristocratic or *elite* argument has been advanced more recently. This is less an idealistic theory than another of the so-called "realistic" variety. Statements of this idea vary but can be summarized in a general way. In all nations, we are told, there are two parallel trends toward centralization of power. One of these trends exists in industrial institutions. Control over them is being gained by fewer and fewer persons as the years go on. The other exists in government, where power is moving continually away from counties, cities, states, provinces and other local divisions and into the hands of the national administrations. The real power in industry is being exercised by the managers, the engineers, and other members of a small group who actually operate industries. The power within national governments is being centralized more and more in the hands of administrators and civil servants, a governing bureaucracy. At the same time governments are gaining much greater power over the economy. They own and operate factories, power sites, forests, and farms. They loan money to business and industry. Larger and larger numbers of people get their living from the government in some way. These trends will continue, say the theorists, and the governing bureaucrats and industrial managers will become a new governing class. Society may or may not retain some democratic features when this occurs, but the real power will rest with the managing *elite*, who will control both government and industry. We shall get further insight into the problems involved here when we read Chapters 5 and 10.

Oligarchy The idea of the rule of the few, called oligarchy, differs somewhat from either the rule of one or the rule of the best. Oligarchs rest their power not upon blood, or land, or tradition but upon the simple fact that they are

strong enough to rule. They are a faction, and they operate the State for their own glory or profit.

There are those who claim that we are developing rapidly in the United States today a form of oligarchy built on economic power. They point out that our society is broken up into many groups of "special interests" which are in a constant struggle for influence over the government and over the ideas and prejudices of the public. Out of this conflict is emerging an economic oligarchy of financiers and industrialists who control the great corporations dominating modern industry. Such is their influence over our ways of making a living, over the political parties which run the government, and even over the newspapers, radio stations, and other agencies which shape our thought that they are the true rulers of the nation, the critics charge.

Shall Minorities Rule? We are reminded frequently that the threat of fascism resides in admiration for governing *élites* and oligarchic tendencies. Those who warn us do not seem to believe that Americans or other liberty-loving people will deliberately choose minority government. Rather they fear that it will be upon us before we realize what is taking place. Bear in mind, we are told, that Italian Fascism came about largely because a few wealthy industrialists were searching for a way to put an end to group strife within the country. Two of the reasons why the German Nazis could assume full power so rapidly were that industry was highly centralized and that the German people had long held the Prussian military caste in undue veneration. Every modern nation should regard this history of Italy and Germany as a warning.

Are "the Masses" Rising?

One group of thinkers about the great historic trends of our time offers the theory that "the masses" are everywhere

rising to power. They remind us that there have been several periods of social and political revolution in western civilization. For example, the breakdown of European feudalism at the end of the Middle Ages transferred the dominant political power of the time from petty princes to national monarchs. A few centuries later a period of revolution swept Europe and America during which power was transferred from kings to the commercial interests.

Today, say these theorists, the leading nations have developed machine industry and built up a trade and financial system about the machine. "The masses" observe that much larger quantities of the necessities and comforts of life can be produced than ever before. They grumble because they do not feel that the goods of the world are distributed justly. As popular leadership is developed, "the masses" press everywhere against the seats of authority. Witness the embattled farmers, labor unions, Socialist groups, and other elements which continually promote unrest and discontent.

People who observe this trend may regard it either as a cause for alarm or for rejoicing. Those who take alarm are apt to want to retreat to minority or to military rule. Those who rejoice say that the masses of men are everywhere capable of self-rule if educated and kept informed. They think we are, in the words of H. G. Wells, engaged in "a race between education and catastrophe."

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. Make a detailed outline of the arguments for and against democracy given in this chapter. Add any arguments which occur to you. Which arguments are for or against democracy as ideals, which for or against democracy as self-government?
2. In what ways does the author of this chapter betray his

own bias? Can we avoid all bias? Strictly, is there any such thing as an unprejudiced person?

3. Look up the history of the religious sects known as the Waldenses, Lollards, and Hussites. What contributions did they make to the cause of religious freedom?
4. Make a time line showing the principal events in the development of self-government in England, France, and the United States since the year A.D. 1000 (Encyclopedia articles will help you.)
5. As you think over the novels which you have read, would you say that any of them could be regarded as propaganda for or against democratic ideals? What point is the author trying to make?
6. "No government," said Jefferson, "ought to be without censors. . . . If virtuous it need not fear the fair operation of attack and defense." Do you agree?
7. "The best test of truth is the power of thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market," said Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. What does this mean? Can you think of an idea that has won wide recognition in competition with other ideas?
8. Public forums have been very popular in the United States at various times. Do you believe that schools and colleges could perform a service to democracy by promoting forum discussions of controversial questions?
9. What do you think of the proposition that to refuse to take an outspoken stand on a problem is itself a way of taking a stand in favor of leaving conditions unchanged?
10. Search encyclopedias and other reference books for a discussion of the charges made against democracy in the 1930's by the European dictators. What claims of superiority were made for one-man rule?
11. What is meant by the statement, "Politics makes strange bedfellows"? Can you illustrate?

- 12 Do you believe it desirable for legislators to prescribe or prescribe the content of history and government studies in the schools?
- 13 Select one possible source of "world trouble" which might arise in discussing the content of this chapter.

SUGGESTED REFERENCES

This chapter is intended to raise various problems which will be discussed in the pages that follow. Students will profit more by thinking over and over the content and exercises of this chapter than by a great deal of supplementary reading. Therefore, only a few references are given. Those who wish to do additional reading should consult the reference lists following Chapters 1 and 3.

Agar, Herbert. *A Time for Greatness*. Little, Brown and Co., 1912.

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CHAPTER 3

CIVIL LIBERTIES, THE ESSENCE OF FREEDOM

- I. UNDERSTANDING CIVIL LIBERTIES
 - 1. The Long Struggle
 - 2. What Are Civil Liberties?
 - 3. The Essence of Freedom
 - II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN EUROPE
 - 1. Agitation on the Continent
 - 2. British and French Constitutional Gains
 - III. EPISODES IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN LIBERTY
 - 1. How the Colonists Interpreted Liberty
 - 2. The Sedition Act of 1798
 - 3. Freedom in Time of War
 - 4. Freedom in Time of Peace
 - IV. CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE COURTS
 - 1. The Principle of Judicial Review
 - 2. Liberty and Organization
 - 3. National Protection of Civil Liberties
 - 4. Influence of the Supreme Court
 - 5. Personal Rights and Property Rights
 - V. THE CONTROL AND EXTENSION OF LIBERTY
 - 1. How We Restrict Our Own Liberties
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Understanding Civil Liberties

The Long Struggle. Early in the sixteenth century there took place on the western slopes of the Alps an event of incredible cruelty. The Waldenses, a religious sect composed

largely of peace loving peasants, had fled from persecution to the protecting mountains. From this refuge they sent forth missionaries to preach their doctrines of independent opinion and resistance to religious compulsion. Such defiance of authority the French king felt could not be ignored, especially since the sect had successfully resisted attempts to punish their heresies. He sent an army into the mountains to teach the Waldenses "right thinking" by means of fire and sword. Thousands of unarmed men were butchered, while others were driven into the mountains to starve. Defenseless women and children were beheaded or thrown from cliffs. Leaders of the sect were burned at the stake and settlements were reduced to ashes.

The heretics could be killed, but not their heresies. The influence of the Waldenses and similar "radical" groups of their time persisted. Stirred by trade and travel and with new ideas of religion and human rights abroad, European society moved steadily toward far-reaching changes.

The incident of the Waldensian massacre is itself of little relative importance. It was only one of many such in the long struggle made by men to free themselves from arbitrary restrictions upon thought and action. The story of this struggle extends back from this sixteenth-century incident into antiquity—to the Hebrew prophets crying out against oppression, to Socrates condemned to drink the poisonous hemlock. It reaches forward into the present day—through the revolutions in France, America, Russia, and China, made familiar to us by history. At times the rebellious groups have been religious, at other times, political, at still others, economic. But always the central thread has been the demand of men—ordinary, common men—to be free from the domination of social classes and intellectual dogmas. Whatever incidents may have incited violence from time to time, men have insisted that they must have freedom to make up



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CIVIL LIBERTIES, THE ESSENCE OF FREEDOM

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

their own minds and take steps for their own welfare rather than to have their thoughts and actions determined from above

What Are Civil Liberties? From this long struggle for personal freedom has emerged the idea of civil liberties. Stated in simplest form, the phrase means the liberties of the citizen. For the past two centuries or more, national governments have been dominant. The people of the world have been organized into nations which are strong enough to demand and receive individual loyalties.¹ Since nations are strong, they have power to become oppressive. So the old struggle for freedom as a person has come to be essentially a struggle for freedom as a citizen. Men insist that government and law must not be used by any group—political, military, economic, religious—to limit what are regarded as the basic personal rights to freedom of speech, belief, press, assemblage, petition, and security of person and property.

In our own country the rights to human liberty are set forth in both the Declaration of Independence and the federal Constitution. The Declaration states

We hold these truths to be self evident—that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Some members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787

¹Before national states arose Europe was organized loosely under feudal principalities, you will recall.

and many of their fellow citizens insisted that civil liberties, hard won through the centuries, be stated in the basic law of the nation. Because the original draft of the Constitution contained no such statement, several states refused to ratify. It was only after the promise was made that such a statement would be added in the form of amendments that the Constitution was adopted. Soon after the adoption the first ten amendments were added. They became known as the Bill of Rights and in them is set forth our guarantee of civil liberties against violation by the national government.

The First Amendment, and probably the most significant statement of the Bill of Rights, declares that Congress shall make no law to prohibit freedom of religion, speech, or the press. Neither shall it prevent the people from exercising the rights of assembly and petition. Other articles assure various liberties. Those who live in the United States are protected against unreasonable seizures. They are secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects from arbitrary action without due process of law. They are guaranteed a speedy and public trial, including witnesses and legal counsel for defense. They are protected against excessive fines and cruel and unusual punishments.

Application of these principles has been made in various court decisions, some of which we shall note as we proceed.

The Essence of Freedom. It cannot be denied that the protection of individuals in the exercise of such liberties is essential to democratic government. We noted in Chapter 2 that democracy as a way of life is basically ethical in nature. It rests upon belief that the masses of men are capable of self-discipline and moral responsibility. Not only are the vast majority able to take responsibility for the welfare of their fellows, but they are also capable of controlling their own governing institutions by electing representatives and voting upon matters of policy.

To discharge these responsibilities, however, the citizen must be free. Freedom means many things, that is, it takes many forms. We may be free from want, free from fear, free from restraint on our movements and activities. But basically the free man is the one who is unrestrained in making up his mind and who has full opportunity to express himself in an orderly manner, regardless of whether he agrees with the majority. It is for this reason that civil liberties are the essence of freedom. Every restriction on belief, speech, press, assemblage, or petition is a step toward "mental conscription." It limits the full and free investigation and discussion out of which truly democratic choices must develop.

The Development of Civil Liberties in Europe

Students recall from history that civil liberties have been the goals of a long and bitter struggle. We noted above the examples of the early Hebrews and the Greeks. In Europe the contest has gone on for over seven centuries, breaking at intervals into open revolt or bloody revolutionary strife. South America, North America, China, India—no part of the world that has not seen its determined struggle for civil liberties and democratic institutions.

The direct line of our own liberal inheritance is from Europe. Let us outline briefly some high points in the growth of those ideas which were later transplanted to America.

Agitation on the Continent. After Europe emerged from the relatively unprogressive centuries of the Middle Ages, intellectual activity of various kinds stirred the imaginations of men. Exploration was undertaken by the daring and was encouraged by princes and kings who sought new wealth and power. Trade was extended and money came into more general use. Large bodies of serfs broke their bondage to

the land and moved to the towns as a laboring class. Religious discussions made men less afraid to speak their minds. The invention of printing led to more and cheaper books.

During a period extending over several centuries, the great national states of Europe were formed. These nations succeeded feudal principalities and tended to establish uniform law over large areas. Under the legal and military protection of kings, commerce extended and there grew up a strong "middle class" of merchants, bankers, and skilled workmen. This group had power because they were able to provide rulers with men and money in times of crisis and to demand an increased part in government in return.

An important role in freeing the minds of men and helping them to gain more personal liberties was played by religious agitation. Between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, the Cathars and Waldenses developed great influence, though their groups were finally scattered by persecution. Theirs was a protest against all oppression: the slaughter of war, use of the law to oppress the weak, and the domination of religious worship by state and priesthood. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, John Wycliffe appeared in England and John Huss in Bohemia. Though they and their followers were attacking primarily the authority of the church of the time, they had a wide influence on society in general. Wycliffe's teachings encouraged an attempt at peasant rebellion in England, and the civil strife provoked by the teachings of Huss led to a large measure of political and religious freedom for the Czechs of Bohemia.

A century after Wycliffe and Huss, Martin Luther of Germany broke openly with the Catholic Church, followed very shortly by Zwingli of Switzerland. These two men did not agree, but even their quarrel had some influence on their contemporaries.

Not only did Luther's revolt help to personalize God in

the minds of his followers, but it also had far-reaching economic and political results. Encouraged by their new feeling of independence, the German peasants rose in revolt against their feudal lords. They demanded freedom from serfdom, wage payments for work, and abolition of arbitrary punishment. "We find in the Scriptures that we are free, and we will be free," they asserted. Their demands mark an early instance of agitation for broad civil liberties.

The effects of this religious ferment were profound. The influence of the Catholic Church was restricted by the rise of various religious sects which demanded church reform. Various Protestant beliefs exalted the worth of the individual in his relation with God, thus creating a stir among the hitherto quiescent peasants. A desire was born among the peoples of Europe to exercise greater personal liberties. They became aware of their power and grew in confidence of their strength. The idea of civil liberty, with all its ethical implications, was growing out of their vague emotional yearnings and aspirations.

It must not be supposed, though, that the agitation of these centuries produced wide agreement. Religious groups remained distinct and separate sects. They quarreled vigorously among themselves over surplices, prayer books, hymnals, and statements of creed. As we look back over the period, we are struck by the fact that while each group wanted freedom from what it regarded as mental conscription, its members were quite willing to deny like freedom to others. But religious agitation merged with political and economic discontent. Out of the many quarrels and compromises, there emerged slowly the idea of tolerance for all.

The waves of turmoil which swept Europe in these and later years had reverberations in America. For it was to America that thousands of immigrants came to escape the persecutions of Charles the First, Louis of France, and

others. They brought with them a fervent desire to worship as they chose. They brought as well an intense distaste for autocratic power. In short, they sought liberty to speak, to write, to think, and to worship according to their own consciences.

British and French Constitutional Gains. The most definite early gains in the constitutional recognition of liberty were made in England. Though the British were the first to establish a strong monarchy over a united nation, the crown steadily gave ground before the demands of various social classes for increased freedom. These gains were especially important to America for they were later written into our own fundamental law.

The Magna Carta was signed by King John in 1215 under pressure from the landed barons of the kingdom. This Great Charter promised, among other things, that justice should never be sold, denied, or delayed. It served notice that the English nobles had once resorted to arms to defend their liberties against the tyranny of their king. Its promise of justice, although never effectively enforced, served as a rallying point for liberty of thought and speech and established the Charter as an early monument to civil freedom. Though the masses received no direct and immediate benefits, it was a step toward civil reform.

In 1689 the English Parliament placed further curbs upon the powers of the king. By combining their strength, the Whigs and Tories were able to force the abdication of King James II. Upon the invitation of party leaders, William and Mary of Orange crossed the Channel and assumed the British throne. Parliament was very careful to safeguard its powers, however. It issued a Bill of Rights which served to limit the arbitrary powers of the king in several ways. (1) It decreed that the king must belong to the Anglican Church. (2) It denied him the power to suspend laws, or to

levy money, or to maintain an army without consent of Parliament (3) It declared the right of the people to petition the king and demanded impartial trials by jury (4) It asserted that neither free elections nor free speech should be interfered with

Let us avoid the error of assuming that this victory for parliamentary supremacy meant genuine democracy The Bill of Rights was a concession to the nobility and the great commercial class only, just as the Magna Carta had been a concession to the feudal nobles Liberty was preserved for them alone The common people benefited only indirectly The Bill failed to defend the ordinary citizen from the greed of the upper classes and it served to increase the intolerance of the various church groups But like the Great Charter it was a step in the direction of democratic government It was an expression of representative control and served as a springboard for later gains to be made by the masses

The French Revolution in the late eighteenth century was unlike the revolts of England The French upheaval was violent and total It was social and religious as well as political and its provoking causes were very complex Probably the most important were the oppression, extravagance, and corruption of divine-right monarchy and the spoiled favorites of the throne Second, the great commercial middle class demanded political recognition Third, the nation was bankrupt from costly foreign wars In the fourth place, the struggles of the English and Americans for civil liberties had greatly influenced French thought Many French leaders had studied the developments in other countries and stood ready to lead the French masses when the time came

The French "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" decreed in 1789 that "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights Law is the expression of the

general will. . . . No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law." Three words symbolized the purposes of the French Revolution: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Notwithstanding the subsequent downfall of the French Republic and the rise of Napoleon, this slogan has long remained an influence on freedom-loving people.

Episodes in the History of American Liberty

How the Colonists Interpreted Liberty. The establishment of the thirteen original English colonies in America extended over a period of a century and a quarter. It was inevitable that many motives should enter into their formation and settlement during this long period. Four colonies were founded by trading companies in the hope of profit for their stockholders. Others were set up by individual proprietors, some for personal gain and others as refuges for groups oppressed in Europe. Yet others were granted royal charters and existed largely for the glory of the crown.

The motives impelling those who came to America to settle were even more various than the objects of the founders. Settlers came to early Virginia in the vain hope of finding gold. Many Puritans, Quakers, and Catholics sought to escape religious intolerance. Yet others sought land and jobs or fled from political persecution, the debtor's prison, or the squalid poverty which everywhere beset the lower classes of Europe. Not a few came unwillingly as transported "criminals" or because they were forcibly "impressed" by shipowners who desired to sell them as indentured servants.

The society established in colonial America was not democratic according to our standards of today. The ideas of class superiority and inferiority which prevailed in Europe were copied to the extent that circumstances permitted. Tol-

the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition, or to excite any unlawful combinations for opposing or resisting any law or any act of the President done in pursuance of law, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act.

Under the Sedition Act a number of persons were fined and imprisoned merely because they criticized the administration. The force of the law gave the party in control power to suppress the party out of office, an authority inconceivable in a democracy. Its opponents complained that the "President, a United States marshal, the judge, and a grand jury together could make anyone a seditious criminal."

Following his inauguration in 1801, President Jefferson declared that the act was, in his opinion, void, and pardoned all convicted of its violation. The law was not renewed by Congress. Nevertheless, the Constitution had been violated, men had suffered for exercising the liberties of free speech and free press. The Sedition Law was indefensible and marked the first important legal transgression of civil liberties after 1789.

Freedom in Time of War The heaviest restrictions upon freedom of speech have occurred during periods of war. Freedom of speech and of the press is an especially confused issue at such times. Court decisions do not always clarify the problems. For example, a Supreme Court decision after the close of the Civil War (*ex parte Milligan*) declared that civil freedom as granted in the Constitution holds during war periods as well as in times of peace. Said the decision, in part

The Constitution is a law for rulers and for people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever

invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism, but the theory of necessity on which it is based is false; for the government, within the Constitution, has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence. . . .

Most persons concede the need for considered judgment and cautious use of speech and press in time of war. They consider restrictive measures temporary, to be removed at the close of the emergency. Others fear the continuance of arbitrary restrictions into peacetime when the need for them has passed. They realize that unnecessary prohibitions have occasionally been imposed. These people are concerned lest citizens grow indifferent to the infringement of civil liberties and thus lose them permanently. Moreover, they argue that inasmuch as the United States has been involved in one or more wars in every generation since the Constitution was established, Americans would have spent much of their time without benefit of full constitutional protection had rigid restrictions invariably been enforced. They decry any and all attempts to impose uniform opinion on the entire nation.

During the Mexican War and the Civil War the conduct of affairs was freely criticized. President Lincoln and his military aides dealt severely with various individuals by the exercise of military authority, but no case reached the Supreme Court until hostilities had ceased. It was in an important case shortly after the war ended that Justice Davis, giving the decision of the Court, made the famous statement quoted above in which he declared that civil liberties are to be observed during war as in peace.

During the First World War law and hysteria combined to carry the restriction of civil liberties to greater lengths than ever before in American history. Congress passed the Espionage and Sedition Acts of 1917 and 1918 which vir-

tually suspended freedom of speech and press. State legislatures supplemented federal law by similar acts. The Supreme Court, forced to take a stand, approved such law by the test of "clear and present danger." Justice Holmes explained this phrase (*Schenck vs. United States*) by saying, "The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent." But this measuring rod proved of little practical value. Most authorities now agree, from a safe distance of more than a quarter of a century, that some shocking injustices led to the imprisonment of various persons for little more than expressing an opinion or criticizing the administration.

Popular hysteria exceeded the abuses of law. Persons of German descent were mistreated, the German language was discontinued as a subject of study in the schools, and extra-legal societies were formed to punish those who dissented from majority opinion. Ministers, editors, and college professors joined in the chorus of intolerance. The office of the Attorney-General of the United States showed such excesses of zeal during and after the war in the arrest of laborers, aliens, and others suspected of "radicalism" that a sharp reaction of opinion set in. Within a few years of the close of hostilities it became the fashion to criticize the abuses of civil liberties during the previous war period.

A few days after the United States entered the Second World War, the nation celebrated the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the Bill of Rights. Speaking on that occasion, Attorney-General Biddle said, among other things,

Every man who cares about freedom, about a government by law—and all freedom is based on fair administration of the law—must fight for it for the other man with whom he disagrees, for the right of the minority, for the chance for the under-

privileged, with the same passion of insistence as he claims for his own rights. If we care about democracy, we must care about it as a reality for others as well as for ourselves; yes, for aliens, for Germans, for Italians, for Japanese, for those who are against us as well as those who are with us. For the Bill of Rights protects not only American citizens but all human beings who live on our American soil, under our American flag.

Such words gave promise of a more discriminating attitude toward civil liberties than had prevailed in the First World War. Events bore out this promise, though many controversial problems arose. The press submitted voluntarily to considerable censorship of news about public officials and military matters. There were some doubtful state and federal prosecutions for alleged seditious activities. *Harsh and coercive measures were much less common, though,* than in the First World War. Criticism of the conduct of the war and of civilian affairs was general. Efforts of the Dies Committee in the federal House of Representatives and of some state legislative committees to excite alarm were not accorded a great deal of attention by the public.

Some of the most important issues arose on questions concerning the constitutional rights of minority groups. We shall deal with these problems in the next chapter.

Many persons approved when the Supreme Court rendered two decisions in June, 1944, which so greatly narrowed interpretations of the "bad tendency" or "clear and present danger" test that it could not be used intolerantly. The Court declared in effect that any citizen has the same right to criticize public men and measures in time of war as in peace. Only in case of obviously "clear and present" danger might there be cause for restraint or punishment. In one opinion the Court declared that "one of the prerogatives of American citizenship is the right to criticize public men and measures, and that means not only informed and responsible

criticism but the freedom to speak foolishly and without moderation" In this return to the principles of the Bill of Rights, the Court reaffirmed the command, "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech"

An especially difficult wartime problem of civil liberties arises from conscientious objection to military service Throughout Europe and America there are many thousands of people who sincerely embrace this position There were some shocking brutalities during the First World War, and many people felt that this was because conscientious objection was dealt with from the standpoint of military expediency rather than as a problem of civil liberty In the Second World War, Germany and Italy did not recognize the problem at all, which was consistent with the official Nazi and Fascist view that the individual has no rights and no importance except as a servant of the state In contrast, the British enacted a liberal law recognizing the right of sincere objectors to be exempted or partially exempted from military activity

In the United States the military conscription act passed in 1940 recognized the person "who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form" Those who established their objection "by reason of religious training and belief" were permitted either to elect noncombatant service in the armed forces or to engage in "work of national importance under civilian direction" The latter group were assigned to Civilian Public Service camps under the management of religious bodies or were permitted to do work in mental hospitals, as 'guinea pigs' for scientific experiments in public health activities, or on farms

This arrangement was defended by its champions on the grounds, principally, that it accorded full legal recognition to conscientious objection and that it avoided having bru-



Photograph by Eugene Smith from *Life Magazine*

A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

Lew Ayres, former motion-picture star, serving on a South Pacific battlefield as an assistant in the Medical Corps.

talities inflicted upon objectors under the stress of war hysteria. Critics were inclined to concede that the arrangement had many merits but to criticize the administration of the act because "conscience" was too narrowly interpreted in some instances and because a larger number of bona fide objectors were not given useful work of "national importance."

There is a very real problem of civil liberties involved in conscientious objection to war—a problem which cannot be concealed by the intolerance which some groups and individuals have shown. Several years ago Chief Justice Taft stated in commenting on a Supreme Court decision, "The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relations." This statement is consistent with the creed stated by Jefferson in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. Shall individuals be permitted to govern their behavior by their religious conviction that they must not take part in violence and bloodshed? Or shall we demand that devotion to God be modified in time of war in favor of loyalty to the state? It is plain that the democrat who believes in civil liberties and the Christian who believes in the brotherhood of man face a logical dilemma here which cannot be resolved by emotion alone.

Freedom in Time of Peace Suppression of civil freedom is not confined to war. Countless peacetime instances might be cited in the struggles between capital and labor, religious sects or denominations, rival political organizations, racial groups, the "native" and the immigrant, majorities and minorities.

A well-known example was the persecution of the Abolitionists in the prelude to the Civil War. In the North as well as the South such bold spokesmen as Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and Elijah Lovejoy were attacked

Freedom of speech on the subject of slavery was all but extinct in the South and received little more than lip service in the northern states. Advocates of free speech and press on the slavery question often were whipped or tarred and feathered. Lynchings by vigilante committees were not unknown.

As the abolition controversy shows, a chief instrument of intolerance is mob action. Such persecution need not be the method of the majority only. More frequently it is a result of a determined and organized minority. Such violations of liberty cannot be charged to government action, but citizens have the right to demand that legal authorities move promptly to punish mob offenses, for they are a mockery of law.

During the first half of the nineteenth century mob violence was a frequent way of exhibiting intolerance. The Masonic controversy, resulting in kidnapping, boycott, looting, and murder, was directed against the so-called "crimes" of the Masonic order. Rumor mongering and deliberate misrepresentation appealed to the mob spirit.

Closely akin to the anti-Masonic intolerance, was the anti-Catholic propaganda centering in Massachusetts and New York at about the same period. Protestant leaders whipped up popular emotions and Catholics responded in kind. So bitter became the religious bigotry that organized gangs of hoodlums roamed the streets and countryside in a few areas. It was with difficulty that order was restored and only then after much destruction of property and some loss of life. The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920's was but a recurrence of the appeal to religious and racial intolerance.

Another instance from this particular period deserves mention. The Mormons of the nineteenth century were suspected and disliked by many who professed other creeds. Persecution tended to stimulate the zeal of the Mormon fol-

lowers of Joseph Smith, and they at times proved to be as intolerant as their persecutors. Driven first from the east to Missouri, they later fled to Illinois, and finally across the desert to Utah. Smith was murdered by an Illinois mob.

Many instances of labor and employer intolerance might be cited. Groups of workmen have at times resorted to mob violence and property destruction. On the other hand, the use of police force and hired gunmen by employers has led at other times to wanton and outrageous violations of the rights of labor to freedom of speech and assembly. Several such cases deserve more detailed study than our space allows. The miners' strike of Cripple Creek, Colorado, the Ludlow strike, the Pullman strike of 1894, the Republic Steel Plant strike of 1937, and certain actions of local political bosses, such as Hague in Jersey City, are instances of the violence that has accompanied both government and private dealing with civil rights in labor and employer relations.

Today, industrial labor's right to organize and bargain collectively is established in the law, though it has received no direct constitutional protection. The present recognition represents great progress over the days when labor organizations were regarded under the law as "conspiracies" and as restrictions on the "freedom" of workers to bargain for the sale of their skill. But there are still very real threats to labor in the form of restrictions on strikes, assemblage, and picketing. A constant campaign is carried on by various interests to discredit unions in the minds of other elements of the public.

On the other hand, labor unions and their leadership have themselves restricted civil liberties at times. Some union leaders have been accused of suppressing free speech among members critical of their policies. Local unions have often refused membership to skilled workmen because of racial or religious prejudice.

There are many ways by which we can become the enemies of our own liberties under the conditions of confusion and group rivalries today. We shall have more to say on this subject near the end of the chapter.

Civil Liberties and the Courts

✧ **The Principle of Judicial Review.** One of the most unique and important roles in defining civil liberties in the United States is played by the courts, especially the federal Supreme Court. We have referred to decisions of the courts without explaining the basis and nature of their function.

The great power of the courts in this connection rests upon the principle of judicial review. Simply stated, this principle confers upon the courts the right to declare federal and state law unconstitutional. All courts, both federal and state, have this power, but the most important decisions are made by the federal Supreme Court in cases which reach it by appeal.

The principle of judicial review is nowhere stated in the Constitution. It was first claimed in a decision written by Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison* in 1803. Said he,

It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases, must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide upon the operation of each.

So if a law be in opposition to the Constitution; if both the law and the Constitution apply to a particular case, so that the court must either decide that case conformably to the law, disregarding the Constitution, or conformably to the Constitution, disregarding the law, the court must determine which of these conflicting rules governs the case. This is of the very essence of judicial duty.

In other words, Chief Justice Marshall felt that some agency must exist to enforce the principles of the Constitution. Unless Congress was to be free to modify the basic law by statutes, there must be a referee to decide the limits of its powers. Also, individuals and the states must be protected from encroachment on their freedom and power by the federal government, while the three branches of government—legislative, executive, judicial—must be confined to the use of the powers conferred upon them by the Constitution. Moreover, if federal law was to remain supreme, the highest federal court must logically decide cases of conflict between the states and the nation. These arguments have been repeated in every generation of American history at times when it has been charged that the Court was acting in an arbitrary manner.

As would be expected, the doctrine of judicial review has not been free from attack. It has been charged that the exercise of this power by the courts is deliberate usurpation, since the Constitution nowhere confers it. The power to declare law null and void is the power to control legislation, say the critics, and has the effect of placing the judiciary above the legislative branch. For practical purposes, the debate over retaining judicial review is largely academic since it has apparently been accepted by the American people. Recent controversies have arisen when many people have felt that the Supreme Court was abusing its power. They have turned upon proposals to limit judicial review rather than abandon the principle.

Liberty and Organization We should note, though, that the foregoing argument is a recognition of the most basic question involved in civil liberties. In every generation men have asked, "How can we reconcile liberty with authority?" To what extent can we organize without losing our individual freedoms?" Today these questions are more urgent than

ever before in history. The world is rapidly becoming one interrelated unit, especially in economic affairs. Both the number and the size of organizations are increasing.

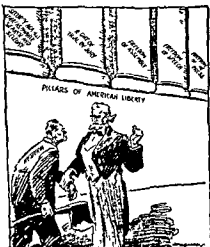
The dictator-controlled peoples of the world have decided this dilemma in favor of authority. Various peoples have given up their liberties in return for the security which they believe that absolute state authority will give them. To a large extent they have accepted uniformity of opinion and government-controlled individual action.

The task of democracy is to reconcile liberty with organization. We recognize that each individual must accept some legal restrictions on his behavior, if not upon his opinions, else we should be constantly in conflict with one another. So we define our liberties by laws which are enacted by elected representatives of the people. Authority to enforce laws is placed in the hands of administrative bodies. When disputes arise we submit them to the courts for settlement. This method tends to divide authority among many officials who act as a check upon one another. It also helps to keep the emphasis of government agencies on the general welfare and on individual liberties. This form of organization is no absolute guarantee against injustices, but we believe that it permits a larger degree of freedom than most peoples of the world enjoy. If it is to work successfully, it must be checked constantly by well-informed persons who demand full and complete justice for all individuals and all groups.

It often is pointed out, as we saw in Chapter 2, that the threats to our liberties do not all arise from government. There are many groups in the United States and throughout the world today who seek to influence or control government agencies in order to get special advantages for themselves. We shall have much more to say on this subject in the chapters which follow.

In exercising the power of judicial review, the Supreme

Court has had two important influences on the trend of our development. First, it has safeguarded personal rights and minority group welfare against encroachment by the government. Second, it has gradually expanded the powers of



from a drawing by Herblock in
The Los Angeles News

COMMENT ON THIS STRIKING DRAWING

the government itself, especially the federal government. In this chapter and the next we are interested only in the problems which have arisen under the first influence. The second we shall consider later in the book.

National Protection of Civil Liberties We recalled earlier in this chapter that the federal Constitution might have failed of ratification had it not been for the promise that a Bill of Rights would be added to the original document. Accordingly, the first ten amendments were added and took effect in 1791.

As the Supreme Court later interpreted these amendments, however, they applied only to the federal government

The states were not thereby restrained from limiting such freedoms as speech, press, assemblage, and religion. When the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in 1868, many people felt that it would remedy this defect and enable the national courts to set aside state laws which infringed individual liberty on the ground that they were deprivations of ". . . life, liberty, or property without due process of law." In this hope they were disappointed, however. Between 1873 and 1922 the Court took the position in a series of decisions that the freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights were no part of the "privileges and immunities" which the Fourteenth Amendment was supposed to protect. Hence, for many years the courts protected the individual against restriction of civil liberties by the national government but not by the states.

Since 1923 the Court has completely reversed its position on this whole question. In the case of *Meyer vs. Nebraska* (1923), relating to certain school problems, Justice McReynolds said, in giving the Court's opinion, that "without doubt" the liberties protected by the Fourteenth Amendment included freedom of religion, education, marriage and family relations, and all ". . . those privileges long recognized at common law as essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men . . ." In *Gitlow vs. New York* (1925) the Court said ". . . We may and do assume that freedom of speech and of the press—which are protected by the First Amendment from abridgment by Congress—are among the fundamental personal rights and liberties protected by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment from impairment by the states . . ." In 1931 a Minnesota law which imposed restrictions on the press was declared void because it was an unreasonable restriction of liberty by the state government.

The importance of these decisions, and others of similar

nature, is that they have laid the foundations for what might be called the 'nationalization' of civil liberties. If the precedents in these decisions are followed, the Supreme Court will hereafter protect citizens' civil rights from infringement by either federal or state law.

Influence of the Supreme Court. The unique and powerful position of the Supreme Court arises from the fact that it is "a constitutional convention in continuous session," to quote President Wilson. The written Constitution is a short document and is necessarily very general in nature. Its framers were concerned with setting forth the general principles upon which the government should be erected, not in determining all the details of its future organization and operation. When the Court decides the cases which are brought before it, therefore, it has no specific rules to follow. Rather, it is concerned with interpreting the meaning of certain principles and general phrases as they apply to specific cases. The majority decision of the Court is set forth in an "opinion" which contains both the verdict and the process of reasoning by which it was reached. Such comment has the net effect of expanding or restricting the meaning of particular sections of the Constitution, depending upon whether Court decisions are "broad" or "narrow." Court opinions become precedents which are carefully studied by judges and attorneys. It has been pointed out often that such opinions are in effect supplementary legislation.

Many decisions of great importance to human liberties are given by the Court in opinions which turn upon the meaning read into such phrases as "due process of law," "equal protection," "interstate commerce," "obligations of contract," and "general welfare." Other decisions turn upon the place at which the Court chooses to draw the line between the powers of the state and federal governments or between the powers of the executive, legislative, and judicial

branches. Sometimes the welfare of many thousands or even millions of individuals will be affected in some way by the nature of a decision, as in the case of laws relating to commerce, taxation, labor, or public health.

The Court often has been criticized because the opinions and prejudices of its members have frequently influenced its decisions. It cannot be denied that this is true. At times the Court has expanded federal power; at other times, it has defended or enlarged state authority. In some periods property rights have appeared to dominate its decisions; at others, human rights. The Court is made more vulnerable to criticism by the fact that its most important decisions often are reached by a divided vote of its members, perhaps five to four, thus making it possible for critics to charge that the opinions of five men, or even one man, can overrule Congress and determine the welfare of millions of people. It is only fair to say, however, that the tendency of Court decisions over a period of a century or more has been to enlarge governmental protection of individual and group welfare. This is not to say that there are not yet many victories to be won for human freedom, as we shall see in some of the later chapters of this book.

Personal Rights and Property Rights. In the long struggle for human liberties no underlying issue occurs so frequently as the conflict between personal rights and property rights. Philosophers have demanded in the same breath the protection of life, liberty, and property. The just and orderly distribution and use of property long have been recognized as stabilizing elements in society. But there has persisted, also, the idea that physical property exists for human welfare. In the clashes between human rights and property rights, the advantage has been on first one side and then the other, but the struggle has continued generation after generation.

This conflict has been reflected repeatedly in American law and court decisions. The most frequent and interesting instances have occurred in the clashes between the "due process" clauses of the federal Constitution and the "police powers" of the states. In such cases the property rights of individual persons or corporations are held to be in conflict with the welfare of the general public.

By the "police power" is meant the right of government to regulate and protect, in the interest of order, the health, morals, safety, and general welfare of the public. It includes the power to restrict individual freedom of action or use of property wherever necessary in the "general interest." Acting upon this power, the states have passed laws dealing with safety, health, housing, protection for business and labor, prevention of fraud, and various other subjects of equally vital importance.

Opposition to such legislation usually has been based on the due process clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. These forbid depriving persons of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The Fifth Amendment restricts the federal government, the Fourteenth, the state governments.

The idea of due process appeared in English law as early as the Great Charter, wherein the king was forbidden to deprive freemen of life and liberty except by law. In time the idea was applied also to property. For centuries the restriction was looked upon as applying only to administrative officials. It guaranteed a fair hearing with due notice, opportunity to prepare defense, freedom from duress, and an impartial trial. Judges in the United States began several decades ago, though, to interpret due process as applying to laws as well as to officials. Gradually the idea has emerged that laws deny due process if they impose unfair or arbitrary restrictions.

"Today if a state attempts to regulate the wages and working conditions of labor, to restrain citizens or corporations from making use of their property in a way injurious to public health, or to regulate the rates charged by public utility corporations, it is likely to find the laws contested on the ground that some individual or corporation has been deprived of liberty or property without 'due process of law.' The claim may be that the individual workman has been deprived of his 'liberty' to bargain for the sale of his own labor. Or it may be that the utilities corporation claims that the rates set by a state commission under the law are so low that it cannot make a fair profit, thus depriving it of its 'property.' The effect is the same in any case, to whittle down the state's right to pass social legislation of various kinds.

"Those who object to Court decisions based upon this broadened definition of 'due process' do so upon two principal grounds. First, they argue that it enables great corporations to take refuge behind the Constitution to prevent regulation in the interest of public welfare. Second, they contend that it makes courts, especially the Supreme Court, the final judges of the motives of legislation and throws upon them the burden of deciding offhand what constitutes fair profits, satisfactory working conditions, and a good many similar questions for which they have no special competency."²

A prolonged debate over this problem has developed as government regulation of individuals and corporations has increased. One group says we must regulate to protect freedom; another declares that regulation serves only to restrict freedom. We shall discuss these problems at length in later chapters.

²Walker, E. E., and Kersey, V. *Our National Constitution*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938, pp. 149-50.

The Control and Extension of Liberty

Supreme Court Justice Brandeis once stated the purpose of our struggle for liberty in words that should be cherished in memory. Said he,

Those who won our independence believed that the final end of the State was to make men free to develop their faculties, and that in its government the *deliberative* forces should prevail over the *arbitrary*. They valued liberty both as an *end* and as a *means*. They believed liberty to be the secret of happiness, and courage to be the secret of liberty.²

Viewed in this way, liberty is not entirely a state of affairs to be accepted, it must be won. In a very real sense each generation must make the battle anew, for old threats persist and new ones arise as society changes. The gains won in the past must be used to free our minds and our energies for new achievements.

How We Restrict Our Own Liberties. It has been pointed out often that by failure to realize these truths we become the enemies of our own freedom. Let us note briefly some of the threats and dangers which we impose upon ourselves.

First, we must list ignorance. The ignorant man is a prisoner in his own mind, unaware of the many problems and dangers about him.

Second is indifference to the freedom of others. As Attorney-General Biddle stated, "If we care about democracy, we must care about it as a reality for others as well as for ourselves." Every gain in liberty is our personal gain, every loss, a threat to our own security.

Third is intolerance or bigotry, whether economic, racial,

²Whitney vs. California, 1925. Italics inserted by authors of this book.

religious, or political. We are reminded often that there are those who consider all unusual forms of opinion dangerous radicalism.

Fourth is abuse of liberty, failure to use it in a responsible manner. Those who take advantage of their own freedom to try to restrict the freedom of others betray our ideals. This applies as much to business corporations, newspapers, radio chains, and government officials as to the most humble individual citizen.

Fifth is failure to assume the duties and responsibilities of self-government. Rights and duties are really inseparable. Those who want self-government must realize that thought and effort are required. There are those who rely too much upon the law, as though its mere existence settled problems. Others are indifferent to voting, blinded by partisanship, or ready to accept demagogues and self-seekers without critical reflection. Yet others are so completely preoccupied by personal affairs that they seem perfectly willing to be governed, not self-governing.

Sixth is conflict among ourselves. As we have pointed out, the tendency of our society is to break up into special interest groups, each seeking to promote its own ends. Industrial capital strives to restrict labor, while labor seeks power to restrict capital. Arbitrary restrictions are often proposed on the basis of race, religion, or political opinion. This is one phase of the problem which we met early in this chapter—how to reconcile organization and freedom. We shall meet it again and again as we proceed.

In the next chapter let us note some of the special problems of civil liberties which grow out of the group nature of our society, namely, the welfare of minorities. Are we sufficiently sincere in our belief in freedom that we are willing to guarantee it without reservation to those of different race, religion, and political opinion?

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

- 1 Examine several textbooks on European history. Make a list of popular movements the purpose of which was to attain some form of human freedom. Note the kinds of liberty sought.
- 2 Some people believe that democratic government, by its very nature, is inadequate to meet serious national emergencies. Do you agree? Is their argument an indictment against democracy as a form of government? as a social ideal?
- 3 The authors of the Bill of Rights believed that trial by jury was essential to civil liberty. Upon what experience did they base their belief? Is their argument valid today?
- 4 What basis is there for the assertion that the early colonists sought to establish freedom for their own beliefs rather than freedom for all beliefs? Check several episodes of colonial history to prove or disprove this statement.
- 5 Most persons agree that freedom means "liberty to do." What do we mean by saying that it means also "liberty not to do"? List some examples.
- 6 What are some of the ways that civil liberties are endangered in time of war? Do you believe it necessary to place rigid wartime restrictions on newspapers? on radio broadcasting?
- 7 Wartime censorship is also accompanied by extensive development of propaganda. What are its aims? Do censorship and propaganda tend to impose uniform opinion on the nation?
- 8 We have seen in this chapter that Supreme Court decisions have varied in emphasis from time to time. Instances have occurred where the Court has reversed or contradicted previous decisions. Would you say that these facts indicate that the Court is or is not a democratic institution?
- 9 Comment on the statement "No mind is in truth free, once a penalty is attached to thought."

10. Many people have commented on the close relationship that exists between the ideals of democracy and Christian doctrines. Make a list of such elements of relationship.
11. Check the book-review sections of recent magazines and newspapers for reviews which discuss phases of civil liberties. Clip the better ones and post on your bulletin board.
12. Select one or two books dealing with civil liberties. Read the foreword and any one chapter which interests you. See if you can detect careless use of symbols, illogical reasoning, or confusing generalities.
13. In his interesting *History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools* (Scribners, 1941) Howard K. Beale described restrictions on teachers in various periods of history. Select one chapter for a report to the class.
14. Do you know of any organizations which seek to restrict the free expression of other groups in the population? Do they hide behind religion or patriotism to make their propaganda attractive?

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CHAPTER 4

THE WELFARE OF MINORITIES: TEST OF OUR SINCERITY

- I. THE TEST OF OUR PRACTICE OF DEMOCRACY
 - 1. Popular Government and Minority Tolerance
 - 2. Minority Tolerance in the United States
 - II. THE CHALLENGE OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES
 - 1. Jehovah's Witnesses
 - 2. Other Religious Minorities
 - III. THE ROLE OF POLITICAL MINORITIES
 - 1. The Services of Political Minorities
 - 2. Difficulties Faced by Minority Parties
 - IV. THE TEST OF RACIAL MINORITIES
 - 1. The American Negro
 - 2. The Japanese-American
 - 3. The Chinese-American
 - 4. The Mexicans
 - V. UNDERSTANDING ATTITUDES TOWARD RACE
 - 1. Causes of Race Bigotry
 - 2. Modern Science and Race Mythology
 - 3. The Eyes of the World
-

The Test of Our Practice of Democracy

Popular Government and Minority Tolerance. "The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free," wrote Lord Acton, "is the amount of security

enjoyed by minorities" Today's critic echoes approval of this judgment when he points out that Hitler and Mussolini were often endorsed by majorities but could tolerate no minority in the realms of bondage which they imposed on the people of Germany and Italy

By a minority is meant any group whose members are united on the basis of race, religion, language, tradition, or opinion and who differ conspicuously in one or more ways from the majority or dominant people among whom they live In the United States minority groups have usually been racial or religious, in Europe they are more often united by tradition or political belief

The most common forms of discrimination against minorities are denial of economic security and political participation Our colonial forefathers protested "taxation without representation" and rebelled because the British government restricted their trade and manufactures India seethes with unrest today because its people believe that they are asked to carry empire responsibilities but have neither economic nor political freedom Europe's history is replete with instances of minority suppression and agitation, factors which were instrumental in provoking both the First and the Second World Wars

The champions of tolerance point out that democratic societies must value and protect minorities In the first place, democratic government itself came about as a revolt against arbitrary power, i e., against small aristocratic groups who once ruled in every country In free countries everywhere people tell with pride of the courage shown by their ancestors when they were a persecuted or rebellious minority, as witness the American stories of the Boston Tea Party, Lexington, and Concord Second, democratic societies cannot oppress minorities without denying democracy's most basic ideals At the heart of democracy is the belief that every man is of



graph by Vachon, Farm Security Administration

HELPLESS VICTIM OF MINORITY INTOLERANCE

est by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities."

worth to society and should be given unrestrained chance to contribute according to his ability and effort. Without individual freedom and equality of opportunity, government may survive but democracy cannot.

There is less emphasis on ideals, more emphasis on self-interest, in the argument that no man can afford to be intolerant of minorities in present-day society. Such is the group nature of society, we are told, that those who are of the majority today may be of the minority tomorrow. Power shifts from group to group and the issues considered important may change. Those who are today of the dominant racial group may also belong to a minority religious group, and religious bigotry may be rampant tomorrow. If we permit now the suppression of those with whom we disagree, what recourse shall we have if we demand tolerance in the future?²¹ Democracy, continues this line of reasoning, rests no less upon majority control than on minority participation. True, majority decisions stabilize government and must determine policies, but democracy's political majorities are and should be temporary, else we shall develop class lines which will defeat the very ends we seek.

Finally, there is the very truthful argument that intolerance brutalizes, limits, and degrades those who practice it. Even Hitler, the master demagogue, found his bigotry a boomerang. Professor Chafee expresses one application of *this idea* when he says, "The real value of freedom of speech is not to the minority that wants to talk, but to the majority that does not want to listen."²²

Minority Tolerance in the United States. It would be

²¹This query becomes even more meaningful if we reflect that most of us are members of minority economic groups—dairy farmers, cattle ranchers, organized labor, financiers, teachers, publishers, store clerks, etc.—and that the most bitter struggles of today are economic in nature.

²²Chafee, *Free Speech in the United States*. Harvard University Press, 1941, p. ix.

expected that citizens of the United States would champion freedom and opportunity for minorities. The parents or grandparents of the vast majority were immigrants who threw themselves on the mercy of the nation's majority at one time. Most Americans are traditionally sympathetic with the underdog. A nation which has gone to war three times within fifty years for the alleged purpose of freeing the oppressed is not apt to turn an entirely deaf ear to demands for justice from whatever source.

Yet, with the inconsistency so common to human behavior, many Americans display singular indifference to the protests of minority groups at home. At times it seems that our concern for those "short-changed" in the struggle for human freedom is directly proportionate to their distance from us. The same persons who express distress over the plight of the oppressed in India, China, or Germany seem unaware of the pleas of our own minorities. Within the United States people of the West criticize those of the South for abridging Negro freedom, but are uncritical of the bigotry among themselves toward Japanese and Chinese Americans. Many people of the South reciprocate in kind. Citizens of both sections are then apt to indict New England for anti-Semitism.

We have reached the point in our national development, however, where we can no longer remain indifferent as individuals to the minority groups in our midst. In the first place, they present a challenge to the sincerity of our professed beliefs. Second, we see more clearly every day that their welfare is important to the nation as a whole; that their health, prosperity, and freedom are protections to all. Disease and poverty have no respect for social status. Each gain in economic security by a minority makes each of us more secure in his job; each gain in free speech and religion erects higher about us all the bulwarks against persecution by the intolerant.

The Challenge of Religious Minorities

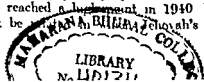
We have noted that a desire for religious freedom lured many settlers from Europe during the early years of the Colonial Era. Early America took its religion seriously if not tolerantly. It was inevitable that the church should afford the earliest examples of intolerance. As indicated in the preceding chapter, the colonial orthodox desperately fought against universal religious freedom. Such liberals as Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams were persecuted. Many colonists opposed with equal vigor each and every sect different from their own. Witness the recurring attacks upon Catholics, Jews, and minority Protestant groups, the active suppression of Universalists, Deists, and others.

Nor has intolerance of religious minorities entirely disappeared today. Let us discuss briefly a few of such groups.

Jehovah's Witnesses. About sixty years ago there originated in the United States a religious association known as Jehovah's Witnesses. Its present membership in this country is estimated at half a million persons. The international association numbers several millions and extends throughout most of the English-speaking countries.

No minority religious group has raised so many controversial issues for many decades. Themselves intolerant of other denominations, they have been very aggressive in their methods of propaganda. They have been involved continuously in a struggle to defend themselves against mob violence, expulsion from public schools, and legal prosecution. The Second World War intensified the conflict between their religious principles and the requirements of the law. Their refusal to participate directly in the war and to salute the flag served to heighten popular prejudice.

Mob violence reached a high point in 1940. Numerous instances might be cited. In 1940, in Birmingham, Alabama, Jehovah's Witnesses



were beaten, kidnapped, and illegally imprisoned. Notable examples of mob action occurred in Arkansas, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia, Texas, and other states.

What are the reasons for such severe and widespread persecution? What is the nature of the fundamental religious belief of this sect that it arouses antagonism?

Certain cardinal principles of Jehovah's Witnesses can be stated briefly. First, members of this sect contend that they owe allegiance to God above all. Their attitude toward government is obedience to all laws which are in harmony with their devotion to God. They reserve the right to ignore laws which, according to their creed, conflict with God's law. They take literally the Biblical injunction which states, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image . . .; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them; for I thy Lord am a jealous God visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generations of them that hate me." This quotation forms the basis for the refusal of the Witnesses to salute the flag. They "respect the flag of the United States and acknowledge it as a symbol of freedom and justice for all." They "pledge allegiance and obedience to all the laws of the United States that are consistent with God's law as set forth in the Bible."³ But thousands continue in their refusal to salute the flag, contending that respect due the symbol of their country is not to be confused with devotion to God.

The issue has been sharpest in small communities, where the pressure for conformity is strong. In many cases children have been expelled from school. In others parents have been prosecuted and children called before courts.

³From the pledge of respect and allegiance. Quoted in *Jehovah's Witnesses and the War*. Bulletin of American Civil Liberties Union. New York, 1943, p. 7.

Several notable court decisions have had a bearing on this problem. In 1941 the Supreme Courts of Massachusetts and New Hampshire decided that child offenders could not be committed to reform school. In 1942 the New Jersey Supreme Court declared that parents could not be prosecuted because their children refused to salute the flag. Although the United States Supreme Court rendered a decision⁴ in 1940 to the effect that school officials might require flag saluting as a part of school attendance, it later declared itself to be in error. The statement, subscribed to by a majority of the Court is of sufficient importance to quote

Since we joined in the opinion in the *Gobitis* case, we think this is an appropriate occasion⁵ to state that we now believe that it was also wrongly decided. Certainly our democratic form of government functioning under the historic Bill of Rights has a high responsibility to accommodate itself to the religious views of minorities, however unpopular and unorthodox those views may be.

In 1942 Congress passed a law declaring that full respect for the flag may be shown by civilians by merely standing at attention when the pledge is given. Most schools conform to the definition as stated by Congress and the issue appears to be settled.

Another point of controversy is the refusal of Jehovah's Witnesses to serve in the armed forces of the nation. Although many accept noncombatant service, great numbers refuse any form of participation. Several hundred (more than any other religious group) served prison sentences because of their refusal to join the armed forces during the Second World War. Witnesses regard themselves as neutral in all quarrels between nations. Claiming allegiance to God, their principles will permit them to fight in His cause alone.

⁴*Minersville vs. Gobitis*

⁵Quoted in *Jehovah's Witnesses and the War* (see note 3) p. 30

All man-made laws, all governmental regulations, all symbols and causes are secondary to this covenant.

Other Religious Minorities. Several other religious groups have suffered in varying degree from the will of the majority at various times. Chief among these are the Mormons.

The relation of the Mormon minority to the demands of American society can best be described by the word, "accommodation." During the entire existence of the Mormon church, it has adjusted to the demands of the occasion and accommodated itself to changing circumstances. Its migration to Missouri, then to Illinois, and finally to Utah, all were attempts to survive through retreat from contact with its enemies. The Mormon settlement in Utah found itself in open rebellion against federal authority soon after the Civil War. Themselves accused of the occasional arbitrary use of power, the Mormon people have nevertheless suffered most severe persecution.

In like manner, persecution of the Quakers has stained many pages of American history. During the Colonial period, they and other religious minorities often were treated as "an unreasonable and turbulent sort of people." The first draft for compulsory military service at the time of the Civil War made no exemption on the grounds of conscience. Many Quakers were forced into the service regardless of their opposition to conscription. Tolerant and peace-loving, the Quakers, also, have accommodated themselves to changing social conditions. Through their dogged determination to adhere to their religious principles and by their many deeds of mercy in periods of conflict, they have virtually forced recognition of Christian pacifism in the United States.

The Role of Political Minorities

It is evident that the "two-party system" is firmly entrenched in the United States. Minor parties have been

numerous but usually short-lived. They have never elected a President, but have had frequent and effective representation in Congress and in the various state legislatures.

The Services of Political Minorities Minority parties, however, have exercised an important influence on American political thought. They frequently have brought before the public issues which both major parties have sought to evade. Again and again, they have focused attention on neglected evils and needed reforms. Many progressive measures have been written into the law because of the activity of minority champions. The graduated income tax, social welfare service, antitrust legislation, the initiative, referendum, and recall exist today partly because of the earlier aggressiveness of minority groups. The postal savings banks, direct election of United States Senators, the eight-hour workday, child-labor laws, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and women's suffrage were vigorously championed in agitation carried on by Socialists and Populists some seventy-five years ago. Indeed, it would be difficult to find any recently adopted reform which was not sponsored earlier by some minority political party.

Many persons contend that differences between the two major parties are superficial. They believe that both the Democratic and Republican parties have so often modified their stands on national issues that there has been little consistency in their principles. Neither favors any genuinely fundamental reform. It has been the role of the minority parties to protest social ills and to demand reform. Their service has been to force into the open those issues which turn upon human life and welfare. They have been responsible in some measure for much of the reform accomplished by first one and then the other of the major parties.

Some of the most influential minor parties of the past two generations students will recall. The Populists of 1892 and

the Progressives of 1912 and 1924 attracted a large vote. The Socialists have been active in American politics for over fifty years. The Prohibitionists have had some influence from time to time and the Communists were active in the 1930's. Recently we have had such groups as the Liberal Party, the American Commonwealth Party, and the American Labor Party, largely local and regional in influence.

Difficulties Faced by Minority Parties. Of late years there has been a noticeable lack of enthusiasm for third-party movements. Whether by design or coincidence, one law after another has been passed in the states to throw obstacles in the way of minority parties. Men and women who understand the importance of such "parties of protest and reform" view these developments with growing concern.

Problems confronting minority groups in the field of politics are twofold. First, is the hesitation people have in associating themselves with a minor party. The two-party system is so much a part of American political thought that citizens do not readily yield membership in either of the major parties. It is argued, with much truth, that the existence of several minor parties tends to destroy political unity and party responsibility. It is popularly believed that a vote cast for a minority candidate is "thrown away" and that a vote so cast exposes one to the ridicule and suspicion of his fellow citizens. Unless, therefore, a party has either a compelling issue or a colorful personality around which to build, it has difficulty arousing widespread interest.

A second obstacle serves as a more concrete threat to the life of minority movements. By passing new legislation and rigidly enforcing old laws, state after state has hindered minor party activity. Constitutionally every qualified citizen has the right to vote. There is, however, no constitutional guarantee to a party of a place on the ballot. It is clear, therefore, that if a party is kept off the ballot, its members

must vote for a candidate other than their real choice. Many people consider this a deprivation of the right of the ballot.

There are two methods by which a political party may place its candidates on the ballot in the various states: (1) by polling a certain proportion of votes at the preceding election, and (2) by filing petitions bearing a prescribed number of signatures. In some states the first method requires as high as 10 percent of the total votes cast at the next preceding election. Where the second method is used, several difficulties present themselves. Not only must a specified number of signatures appear on the petition, but the petition must meet other standards as well. In some states it must represent all counties within the state. In others the signer must swear that he will vote for the nominee named in the petition. In still others a voter may not sign a petition if he has been a member of another party within a certain specified time.

Such restrictions are defended as serving good purposes. They simplify the ballot and avoid "fly-by-night" party movements. The high hurdles they have set up, however, have produced some curious results. In 1918, for example, the Republican party was barred from the Florida ballot because it had not polled the necessary 5 percent of the votes in the preceding election. In 1938 another state deprived a minor party of a place on the ballot although its petition had been signed by more than 25,000 citizens. It had failed to get two hundred signatures from each county in the state!

If we recognize the importance of minority parties in American democracy, it is well to be aware of the difficulties against which they contend. Party machinery in any one state is usually very complex. When these difficulties are multiplied forty-eight times the obstacles are really tremendous. Many Americans think of democracy as being a way of life to which freedom of expression is essential. They

believe in a political democracy in which minority groups possess unhampered freedom in formulating policies and in carrying them to the electorate. They fear the smoldering grumblings of suppressed minorities, contending that the most effective safety valve for discontent is free and open discussion. In short, they believe that treatment of minority political groups constitutes one test of the sincerity of our professed belief in liberty.

The Test of Racial Minorities

The American Negro. No minority group in the United States has suffered greater discrimination than the Negro. Many controversies have raged around his role—social, political, and economic—in American life.

The Negro population forms one of the largest of our minority groups. Numbering over 12,000,000, Negroes constitute nearly 10 percent of our total population. They are distributed rather unevenly over the nation as shown in the accompanying table.

Distribution of Negro Population

Compiled from Government Census Reports

Section	Population 1930	Population 1940	Percent of In- crease 1930-40
United States	11,891,143	12,865,518	8.2
New England	94,086	101,509	8.0
Middle Atlantic	1,052,899	1,268,366	20.5
East North Central	930,450	1,069,326	15.0
West North Central	331,784	350,992	5.8
South Atlantic	4,421,388	4,698,863	6.3
East South Central	2,658,238	2,780,635	4.6
West South Central	2,281,951	2,425,121	6.3
Mountain	30,225	36,411	20.5
Pacific	90,122	134,295	49.0

Spurred by the demands of the First and Second World Wars, Negroes migrated from the South to various parts of the nation. As shown in the table, the greatest relative increases in Negro population occurred in the Middle Atlantic, East North Central, Mountain, and Pacific states. Sections of our country which had had little contact with the Negro suddenly found themselves facing the problems of assimilation. Students have studied for a long time the Negro question in the South, but only in recent decades have they had the opportunity to witness at first hand the adjustments necessary on the part of both the white and the black populations when they are thrown together in the industrial centers of the North and West. Today most states of the nation face the need for a serious and intelligent study of the Negro minority and its place in a democratic way of life. Such studies should be undertaken with the idea of acting on the programs formed, not merely talking about them.

It is unnecessary to relate in detail the history of the Negro minority. Eighty-five years ago the Negro was a slave devoid of the civil rights accorded citizens of that day. Students know of his very gradual progress in gaining civil liberties. His freedom from slavery won during the Civil War, he was granted citizenship and the privileges of the ballot.

Notwithstanding the clear-cut intentions of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, full freedom for the Negro has not been forthcoming. It is the contention of those who argue that the Negro is the victim of discrimination that his rights to the ballot have been abridged by intimidation and the use of physical force. Property restrictions, poll-tax requirements, educational tests, and other instruments have applied with special force to the Negro.

We are reminded, too, that the Negro has been barred from many skilled occupations and usually from trade-union

membership. Socially he has been quarantined by restricted dwelling areas and limited opportunities for recreation. Inadequate educational facilities have retarded his progress in most sections of the country. The Fair Employment Practices Act of the Second World War opened many war industries to the Negro but did not entirely end discrimination. During the same war period some branches of military service were closed to Negro enlistment. So keen was the resentment among the Negroes that a slogan was coined, "Double-V" for victory abroad and for victory at home.

Opponents of racial equality in industry and politics sometimes contend that the low natural endowment of the Negro renders him incapable of any but the smallest contribution to society. They point to his social and economic backwardness as evidence of his inability to make "progress." Many such persons believe in the doctrine of "white supremacy," that a paternalistic white majority knows what is best for the Negro. Such theorists prefer to relegate the black man to the unskilled, low-wage occupations and to segregate him socially.

Growing numbers, however, have expressed concern over this attitude toward the Negro minority. They insist that true democratic ideals apply to all, regardless of race, color, or creed. They point out the inconsistency of professing a belief in democratic ideals while one-tenth of our population suffers multiple inequalities. These people question the belief that all Negroes lack ability. Citing such leaders as Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, W. E. B. Du Bois, and scores of others, they contend that restricted economic and educational opportunities are the chief obstacles to Negro development.

These liberals vigorously denounce the doctrine of "white supremacy," claiming that it violates the fundamental concept of democratic equality. In the first place, they charge

that the white-supremacy argument stems from the Reconstruction period rather than from racial doctrines as such. They explain that the suppression of Negro rights is indirectly a result of the bigotry shown by northern zealots toward southern whites during the days of Reconstruction. The doctrine of white supremacy is, then, a rationalization of other fears and prejudices. The attitude of those who speak for equality of opportunity was cogently stated by Wendell L. Willkie when he said, "The attitude of the white citizens of this country toward the Negroes has undeniably had some of the unlovely characteristics of an alien imperialism, a smug racial superiority, a willingness to exploit an unprotected people."⁶

It is evident that many people recognize that the welfare of the Negro, or any other minority group for that matter, is the concern of all groups. In recent years there has been increasing cooperation between leaders of the white and the black races with a view to joint action. Aided by the generosity of white philanthropists, but largely by their own efforts, the Negroes have done much to improve their situation. Such schools as Tuskegee, Fisk, Howard, and Hampton have trained hundreds of Negro leaders who have distinguished themselves in the fields of medicine, teaching, agriculture, business, and the fine arts. Millions of dollars have been contributed to Negro education by such agencies as the Peabody Fund, the Jeanes-Slater Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, and the General Education Board.

The Japanese-American In 1940 there were 126,947 Japanese living in the United States. Of this number roughly one-third were Issei, alien immigrants forbidden by law to become citizens of the United States. The remaining two-thirds were Nisei and Sansei. The Nisei are the second gen-

⁶McWilliams, *Carey Brothers Under the Skin*. Little Brown and Co., 1943, p. 7.

eration, American-born Japanese; the Sansei are the third generation. The latter two groups are American citizens by birth. Since few Japanese have entered the United States since 1907, and none at all, legally, since 1924, the Issei group of 1940 was made up of people in the middle and older age groups. The Nisei ranged in age from infants to young parents.

Both alien Japanese and Japanese-Americans had long been the objects of agitation and discrimination on the Pacific Coast, where they were heavily concentrated. It was charged that they worked for low wages, maintained a low standard of living, and could not be assimilated to American customs. In vain the less prejudiced argued that the vast majority of Japanese were obviously "good Americans." It was pointed out that they adopted American customs and clothing, eagerly sent their children to school, and even became active Christians in large numbers. They were law-abiding and stayed off the public relief roles. But the voices of tolerance could prevail only at intervals against sensational newspapers and those demagogues who wished to promote their personal fortunes by appeals to prejudice. The problem was complicated by the tendency of some thoughtless persons to blame American-born citizens of Japanese ancestry, few of whom had ever been out of the United States, for the aggressiveness of the Japanese army and navy in the Far East.

The Pearl Harbor incident on December 7, 1941, fanned this long smoldering situation into flame. Certain newspapers, radio commentators, and ambitious office seekers began to whip up public sentiment within a few weeks. Exaggerated or unfounded rumors of espionage and sabotage spread rapidly. With an eye to some 200 million dollars' worth of Japanese property and the elimination of competition, there were those who deliberately encouraged agitation. As far as

the Pacific Coast was concerned, at least, it soon became apparent that German-Americans, who had borne the stigma of "racial degeneracy" in the First World War, were to be spared a second ordeal as denunciation centered on the Japanese.

On the basis of an executive order issued by the President on February 19, 1942, the military authorities evacuated persons of Japanese ancestry from the coastal states. The original intention was merely to move such persons inland, but as the procedure developed, it was decided to confine them in "relocation centers" located in Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. By November of 1942 some 110,000 persons had been thus confined. Over 70,000 of this number were citizens of the United States.

This policy raised questions of civil liberty and simple humanitarianism which have been the center of restrained but intense debate since. Defenders of the procedure claimed "military necessity." They stated, quite truthfully, that the military authorities did not know at first but that invasion was imminent. Furthermore, it was believed that the move served to protect the evacuees themselves from possible mob violence. The constitutionality of the move could not be questioned, it was argued, since it was based upon a delegation of power by Congress to the President. True, the evacuees were denied individual hearings as to their guilt or loyalty and were held behind barbed wire under military guard. But the Army and the War Relocation Authority made a determined effort to guard their civil rights once they were in camp. They were permitted to hold meetings, publish newspapers, and exercise freedom of religious worship. Schools were maintained for the children and wages were paid to those adults who could be employed. Several

thousand were released for work or for relocation outside of centers as soon as the move was feasible.

Those who are critical of this whole procedure usually have nothing but praise for the efficient and kindly way that the program was carried on by the War Relocation Authority and the Army authorities. Their criticisms are directed, rather, at the policy involved. If, say they, one minority group of 70,000 or more citizens can be taken into "protective custody" upon presidential order and without individual hearings, why is it not possible for any other minority group to be given the same treatment in times of future crisis and hysteria? Doesn't the fact that 110,000 Japanese were interned and over a million Italians, Hungarians, and Germans left free indicate that the real basis for the action was race prejudice, whatever specious rationalizations may be made? There was no question of actual danger involved, as the federal authorities had kept all dangerous aliens under observation for several years and they were taken into custody quickly after hostilities began. Furthermore, it is added, the humiliation, injustice, and threats to health and welfare involved cannot be denied. Even the property loss, though less important than the human problems involved, probably amounted to over one-half the total value of the holdings of the Japanese and the Japanese-Americans.

Various events soon led public excitement to subside. Christian church congregations cooperated with Japanese in many ways to prevent such suffering and property loss as could be avoided, while church and civic leaders who felt so inclined openly expressed their misgivings about the policy of internment. Military authorities stated that rumors of sabotage in Hawaii, where over one-third of the population is Japanese, were totally unfounded. When certain branches

of military service were reopened to Japanese, the latter provided more than their proportionate number of soldiers. "Race baiting" subsided to such an extent in the West that a "Japanese exclusion" measure initiated in California failed to get enough signatures to place it on the 1944 ballot. Early in 1945 Japanese of proved loyalty were permitted to return to the Pacific Coast. When Japanese families were resettled in large numbers in various parts of the country, they met less antagonism from the public than the authorities had feared.

A number of issues on various phases of the internment program were brought before the courts during 1944, but the decisions given were contradictory and inconclusive. A majority of the Supreme Court was apparently reluctant to make sweeping decisions in war time. It is probable that the decisions eventually made on these cases will amplify and interpret various phases of the Bill of Rights. In further pursuance of the justice which Americans demand, various persons have proposed that post-war commissions be established as a first step in compensating former evacuees for unnecessary losses sustained. All of these developments give promise that this difficult problem will be dealt with in such manner hereafter that democratic gains will result.

The Chinese-American The history of the Chinese minority in the United States parallels in some ways that of the Japanese. Although fewer in number at present, the Chinese, also, have settled largely along the Pacific Coast. Of the 77,000 Chinese now in this country, over half are found in California. Chinese labor was barred from the United States after 1882, and the provisions of the Act of 1924 applied to them, as to all other Orientals. Many thousand Chinese have left the United States in recent decades.

In the middle years of the nineteenth century the Chinese were welcomed because of the need for cheap labor. However,

as the labor market became glutted and as the numbers of Chinese increased, this welcome cooled. They became the objects of persecution and suffered much the same discrimination that later was visited upon the Japanese. The Chinese eventually adjusted to their minority status and afforded less competition to white labor. So complacently have they accepted their economic and social role that little friction exists between them and the white population of today.

Such, however, has not always been the case. Until about a generation ago, the life of the Chinese-American could be described in terms of forced labor, fanatical intolerance, and murder. It is no compliment to the Americans of that period that the Chinese were forced to accept their low economic status. Brought to America and exploited by powerful industrial interests, the Chinese soon learned that they were unwanted as competitors in the labor market. As has been so often the case, violent persecution of this minority ceased only when they withdrew from economic competition.

While China fought as our ally during the Second World War, Congress felt impelled to repeal the Chinese exclusion acts, to place Chinese immigrants on a quota basis, and to permit Chinese residents to become American citizens. This act of justice must not blind us to the fact, however, that the Chinese minority is yet without many of the usual privileges of democratic society. Vocational discrimination, social segregation, and political neglect are a part of the Chinese-American's lot.

The Mexicans. With the possible exception of the Negro, the Mexican minority is the most suppressed and isolated of all such groups. Certainly it is one of the largest, numbering over one and a half million in 1943. Mexicans are more numerous in the states of the Southwest—Texas, California, New Mexico, and Arizona—than elsewhere. There they find employment chiefly in agricultural pursuits, such

as cultivation of cotton, citrus fruits, or vegetables, and the grazing of stock.

In a government report,⁷ David J. Saposs declared that the Mexicans constitute probably the most submerged and destitute group in the United States. This and other reports indicate that the public relief rate is high among Mexicans and unemployment is frequent. Illiteracy prevents job promotion, employment thus being limited to low-wage unskilled work. Malnutrition, disease, and delinquency are prevalent in Mexican settlements. Often living in cultural isolation, Mexicans are discriminated against on the job, in the school, and in social and recreational fields.

No one cause explains the failure of the Mexicans to adjust to their American surroundings. Several contributing factors are recognized by those who study the problem. Chief among the reasons most often discussed are the economic and cultural backgrounds of the group. The majority are of Spanish-Indian inheritance, with a rather meager and primitive culture. They are, it is claimed, unable to cope with the high standards and material progress found in the United States. Enticed to enter this country to join a pool of cheap labor, they are given little opportunity to improve themselves. They are held at subsistence wages and exploited by those who gain from their labor.

Retention of their own language forms another obstacle to the assimilation of Mexicans. In a great majority of their homes, Spanish is the language spoken. And finally, it is said frequently that a serious problem exists in the attitudes which the Mexicans develop as a result of the treatment they receive. Discrimination forces them from the school, into unskilled fields of work, and from the public playground. The result is hopelessness and lack of interest in local problems. This lack of a sense of "belonging" sometimes flares

⁷Report on resident Latin American problems, typescript, April 3, 1942.



Lower Photograph from Three Lions

ONE OF OUR MINORITIES

Some Mexicans are fortunate in living in communities where they are given a chance, but others are suppressed and isolated.

into open gangsterism, as evidenced by the so-called "Zoot Suit Riots" of the early 1940's

It is often charged that special interests within the United States have encouraged the migration of Mexicans to this country in order to have a huge pool of unskilled laborers. Certain that our native-born laborers do not welcome their Mexican competitors, critics believe industry, particularly the railroads and large corporation farms, to be the sole benefactors. They argue that the presence of a semi-employed body of Mexicans, partially supported at public expense, constitutes a form of subsidy to these favored industries. Certainly it is true that our laboring population remains cool to this uninvited competition. As is the case of the Negro and the Oriental, the Mexican has been tolerated only as long as he has accommodated himself to a low economic status. Friction results and intolerance magnifies when he attempts to rise in the economic scale.

Understanding Attitudes Toward Race

Causes of Race Bigotry Race prejudice springs from a variety of causes. Probably the oldest is suspicion of people who compare unfavorably to ourselves when measured by our own standards. We tend to distrust people we do not know. They seem queer, they dress differently, their customs are peculiar, or their physical features are different from ours. Everywhere we use the standards of our own people to judge others. Plain ignorance about others is one of the basic causes of race bigotry.

Another cause of race bigotry today is probably the lack of security felt among the people of all nations. One group fears the political power of another, weak nations fear strong nations, the poor fear the wealthy, and the wealthy fear the poor. Just as wars of aggression were once

fought in the name of religion, so have they been fought in the "cause" of "racial superiority." When mass fear sweeps a people, a scapegoat is needed by frightened authorities. Too often "race" persecution becomes the issue. Failing to discover the real cause of their fear, people turn their hatred upon some "inferior race." Men can be, and often have been, whipped into an irrational frenzy over the "race problem" only to remain utterly ignorant of the actual causes of their poverty and discontent.

Race bigotry is an unreasonable belief in the superiority of one's own race. It rests upon mythology rather than scientific fact and feeds the emotional appetites of people who hunt for a scapegoat. Many times national and racial leaders have fired their people to action through appeals to racial intolerance. The Nazi doctrine of "Nordic superiority," the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in our own country, and such movements as "Asia for Asiatics" and "America for Americans" are examples. Hate is the motivating force to violent action, and a people can most easily be made to hate those forces about which they know the least. How often have religious groups crusaded against other religions simply because they did not understand them! How often has nation mobilized against nation because of vague and irrational fear of things it did not comprehend! How often have majorities persecuted minority groups because they were the most tangible and helpless objects upon which their wrath could be vented!

Modern Science and Race Mythology. The dictionary defines "race" as being "a people of the same stock, breed, or lineage, having common characteristics." No word in the English language is more often used inaccurately. The most usual mistake is to confuse "race" with "nationality."

As the explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries traveled the distant quarters of the globe, they encountered

many strange people. At least they were considered strange when judged by European standards. They were promptly labeled as members of a great many different races. Their "race" was determined largely by skin color, with some attention to head shape, hair texture, height, and other physical characteristics. The classification was unscientific but served the purpose of the day.

Although popular misuse of the term "race" continues today, much more is known about the various peoples of the world. Modern science has thrown light on racial development. The three primary races of the world have been classified as (1) Caucasian, (2) Negroid, and (3) Mongoloid. These are broken down into several subdivisions.

Scientists have evidence that early man migrated extensively over the world. The process was slow, but as groups moved farther and farther apart, they developed differences in customs, language, and even physical characteristics. Later these groups rediscovered one another. The surge of the Huns from Asia and the extension of the Roman Empire, the Mohammedan conquest of North Africa and the Norman invasion of England, the Crusades and the voyages of Columbus, Marco Polo, and others all tended to reacquaint the peoples of the world with one another. The gradual merging of various peoples resulted in intermarriage and the breaking down of "racial" differences. All of these factors, scientists believe, render questionable the theory of racial purity. Most of the peoples commonly referred to as of different races today really differ in nationality or culture, not in race.

Statements are made frequently that racial superiority is proved by the outstanding accomplishments of the white race. Supporters of this thought point to the great material progress of Caucasian peoples. They talk about modern invention and social progress in which the white race has as-

sumed dominant leadership. They are inclined to forget, however, that the machine age is short indeed when compared with the centuries of world history preceding it. They overlook the fact that Negro groups in Africa fashioned iron tools and wove fine cloth while the Caucasians of Europe lived in a state of barbarism. They ignore the fact, also, that the civilizations of Babylon and Egypt flourished and died while Europeans lived as rude stone-age primitives. They overlook the Aztec state which Cortez found in Mexico and the great civilization of China which predated the progress of Europe.

It has often been claimed that Caucasians are uniformly of higher intelligence than other races. Again, however, it should be noted that the differences in intelligence indicated by tests, the only means of measuring, may be due to environment more largely than to inherited abilities. Army tests made during the First World War revealed that, while Negroes made test scores lower than those of the whites, the results were due partially to educational facilities. In some cases northern Negroes excelled poor southern whites. Scientists rather uniformly agree that the differences in performance were not between North and South nor between white and black. The scores varied in direct relation to economic and educational opportunities.⁸

The Eyes of the World. The Second World War has made many Americans aware that our treatment of minorities is more than a local problem, more even than a national problem. Looked at from a world viewpoint, Christians are decidedly a minority sect. The white race is outnumbered almost two to one by the colored peoples. Our type of po-

⁸The accuracy of intelligence tests such as those used in the Army is an open question. They provide only a rough estimate of capabilities, and scores made on them are very much influenced by education. Educators agree only that they measure ability to do the specific tasks set up in the test.

litical institution exists only in a limited area. Our notions of law, property, labor, and finance are by no means universally shared. We have come to realize for the first time that in a world which is rapidly "shrinking" we of the United States are a minority people. It may well be that as time goes on our chances for survival will be determined more by the good will we can cultivate than by the force we can muster. As world-wide industry and trade increase, the "backward" peoples can exploit their own resources and manufacture their own armaments. Their preponderance of manpower gives us cause for reflection.

The United States is now especially well regarded throughout the world. For a century and a half our institutions have symbolized freedom and tolerance. In both the First and Second World Wars we declared our belief that our ideals apply to all mankind. We have been lavish in deeds of generosity. It is but natural that the eyes of the world should be upon us. Realizing this, those critics who make us uncomfortable by stating truth point out that we must put our house in order. It is not probable that we can limit freedom and deal arbitrarily with minorities without sacrificing the respect which we have gained. We shall have more to say of this subject later in the book.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

- 1 There is a well known Latin quotation which states, "The Voice of the People Is the Voice of God." By what process of reasoning might this conclusion have been reached? What bearing does the idea have on majority control?
- 2 It has been said that the Supreme Court follows the election returns. Is this statement justified? Can you find out whether the present Court is made up chiefly of "liberals" or principally of "conservatives"?

3. What is meant by the statement that "Differences between the two major parties are superficial?" Can you give instances to prove or disprove this statement? It will be interesting, in this connection, to study the most recent national platforms of the two parties.
4. What are the legal provisions in your state regarding a place on the ballot for party groups? When were these laws passed? How rigidly are they enforced?
5. Certain states of the nation spend relatively small sums for education. Of this amount, the Negro schools receive only a small portion. People who believe in equalized educational opportunities have made various proposals for reform. What are some of the remedies suggested? Try to find out what reforms have recently been made in North Carolina and other states having a large Negro population.
6. Search a few newspapers and magazines for editorials and articles bearing on the welfare of religious or racial minorities. Do the writers reveal a bias? Are the articles based on established fact?
7. See what information you can find in histories and encyclopedias on the importation of Chinese labor to the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century.
8. In what ways might "oppression by a majority" become just as fatal to "progress" as "oppression by a minority"?
9. It has been said that we seldom dislike a person whom we really know. What relevance does this statement have to racial attitudes?
10. Americans are prone to assume that laws will remedy all evils, including racial, religious, and political oppression. Many experts in these fields, however, believe laws to be principally negative, and of doubtful value in creating genuine tolerance. They urge education as the best means of protecting minority rights. Weigh the merits of these two instruments—law and education.

- 11 "Ignorance is fertile soil for prejudice" How can we be sure that our opinions are not mere prejudice? How can we be well-informed? Suggest a program which you think your community might accept which would inform the public about minority groups
- 12 Examine several American history texts Make a list of the minor political parties discussed and note the issues upon which each party took its stand
- 13 Show how "name calling" may be used as a means of arousing prejudice against minority groups
- 14 Find out from the encyclopedia or *World Almanac* the total number of adherents of each of the world's major religions The total numbers of each of the three large racial groups in the world
- 15 Why has there been so much agitation in Puerto Rico recently? How is Puerto Rico governed? Of what elements is its population composed?

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Photograph from the Chrysler Corporation

BIG BUSINESS

There is a world wide trend toward centralization and industry in many instances, has grown to enormous proportions

CHAPTER 5

CONFLICT OF GIANTS: BIG BUSINESS vs. BIG GOVERNMENT

- I. POWER
 - II. THE RISE OF BIG ENTERPRISE
 - 1. First Phase
 - 2. Second Phase
 - 3. Characteristics of Modern Industry
 - III. BUSINESS AS A SYSTEM OF POWER
 - 1. Community of Interest
 - 2. Abuses Laid to Corporate Power
 - 3. International Cartels
 - IV. THE CENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT POWER
 - 1. Government as Benevolent Referee
 - 2. Reasons for the Centralization of Power in Government
 - 3. The Flow of Power
 - 4. Federal Administrative Agencies
 - 5. The Fear of Bureaucracy
 - V. WHERE DO WE STAND?
 - 1. Some Sources of Confusion
 - 2. Are We in Danger of Fascism?
 - VI. THE FUTURE ROLES OF BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT
 - 1. The Dogmatists
 - 2. The "Progressive Business" Approach
 - 3. The "Progressive Government" Approach
 - 4. The Place of the State as Servant
-

Power

We often hear it said that "bigness," the very fact of giant size, is responsible for many of the most difficult problems of our time. Business firms, industrial corporations, government agencies—an increasing number of these are big and powerful and steadily are becoming more so. There is not a social institution untouched by this trend, whether it be concerned with religion, education, or economic production. Even relief agencies, such as the Red Cross, are international in their organization and activities.

What we detect here is the world-wide trend toward centralization, toward bringing more and more of the activities of various kinds of organizations under central control. We see evidences of this tendency all about us. In trade, the small retailer is giving ground before giant department stores, mail-order houses, and chain stores. In industry, corporations chartered in one state of the Union carry on a business international in scope. Rural newspapers are forced to compete increasingly with metropolitan dailies, country schools and churches merge with larger groups in nearby towns and cities.

Within the government this trend is just as apparent as elsewhere. Railroads, aviation, power lines, radio communication, and other forms of economic activity, having become national and international in extent, are too big for state regulation, so federal commissions are created to do the job. As federal aid has been extended to state and local governments, federal power has been steadily increased. At the same time, the state governments have enlarged their authority at the expense of the county and town governments through supervision of programs related to business, health, education, and other matters requiring state-wide cooperation.

The requirements of war hastened the centralization of power in big business and in the federal government after 1941. Many activities of local and state governments were suspended or reduced. Federal contracts for military and naval supplies were given largely to huge industries because these could supply goods most rapidly.¹ National agencies took over the regulation of manpower, food, wages, prices, and production.

We often are reminded that the trend toward bigness and centralized power is by no means confined to the United States. It can be seen everywhere throughout the world, especially in those nations where industry is highly developed. In Germany the control of industry and business was highly centralized before the Nazi state took them over. Various writers have shown that economic trends have long been similar in Italy, Japan, Great Britain, and the United States. In Russia political and economic institutions are unified. One nation after another in Europe, Asia, and South America took the unifying step into dictatorship, centralizing full economic and political power in the national government, before the Second World War began.

This universal trend toward bigness and centralized control raises grave problems. The evil is not bigness alone. Probably big institutions are unavoidable and even desirable under present conditions of communication and dependence upon one another. Large industries can be efficient and economical. They are capable of increasing the production and lowering the prices of many useful articles. Government agencies can do much to promote health and education, to prevent business depressions, and to aid the unemployed and the handicapped.

¹Fifty-six corporations received 75 percent of defense orders in the early months of the Second World War. Corey, Lewis. *The Unfinished Task*. Viking Press, 1942, p. 41.

The basic problem is not bigness itself, as we have said, but how the power which grows out of bigness shall be used. To centralize control centralizes power, and power affects the lives of men, women, and children—sometimes millions of them. It is important then who holds the power and what use is made of it. In Japan, industry and business were highly centralized. They were taken over, in effect, by a military faction bent on war. Power which might have been used to promote the welfare of the Japanese people was used to lead them to ruin. Very much the same thing took place in Germany.

In the United States the trend toward big and powerful business units on the one hand and centralized and powerful government on the other has brought about a dramatic and highly important three-way struggle for dominant power. Third party to the struggle is the public.

Many sincere persons associated with giant industrial and financial corporations charge that the federal government is becoming too powerful. They resent the increasing supervision exercised by government agencies over trade and industry. Prosperous business and influential leaders of business are a bulwark against political tyranny, they argue. "Free enterprise" and "individual initiative" promote prosperity. If government power continues to grow, we are in danger of a top-heavy bureaucracy, regulating every phase of our lives. If backed by military power, this organization might develop into tyranny.

Those who favor centralization of government power meet these arguments squarely. Regulation of industry and trade is "in the public interest," they say. Financial and industrial corporations too often have shown no concern over the general welfare. Instead of increasing the production of goods and lowering prices to the public, they have used their power to control raw materials, restrict production, and keep prices

high. If the masses of men are to profit fully from our scientific knowledge and industrial skill, there must be curbs on private greed and over-all planning of the use made of our natural resources. The depression of the 1930's gave evidence that giant business and industry are unable to keep us out of trouble by following their traditional policies.

A vitally interested third party to this contest for power is the public itself. This term, "the public," refers not to a large unified group of people who agree in all their opinions. Rather, the public influence is felt through various organized bodies, such as political parties, labor unions, cooperative societies, consumer groups, and professional associations. However these various groups may disagree among themselves, they are beset by common questions which recur again and again. Is the government that our forefathers established to assure freedom becoming the greatest enemy to liberty and opportunity? Or are we menaced more directly by the organized greed of individuals and groups who prefer personal wealth to general prosperity? Will some financial and business corporations become so big and powerful that the government cannot control them? Will the federal government become so complex and impersonal that the public cannot control it?

The Rise of Big Enterprise

The problems and issues involved in this contest for power can best be understood if we review the development of the conflict's underlying cause. This is to be found in the changes which are taking place in our economy—that is, in the ways that we produce and distribute the goods upon which our lives and welfare depend. Especially important are the changes in our ways of living and of making a living which have been under way during the past fifty or sixty years.

First Phase. The story of the early development of the Industrial Revolution is well known to every student. Histories have pointed out how machine industry and the factory system have changed society in Europe and the United States since about 1750. The factory system began in England, where it first affected the textile industry. Soon the progress of science and invention extended the system into the manufacture of other articles. Industrial development took place rapidly on the continent of Europe and in the United States. Factories were located near raw materials and fuel supplies or with an eye to convenient means of shipping their products to the markets of the world. Workers gathered from country and town into the cities which grew up about the factory sites.

In the United States the development of industry was well under way before the Civil War and boomed rapidly after that conflict ended. One after another giant industries grew up: iron and steel, railroads, boots and shoes, meat packing, petroleum, foodstuffs, textiles, automobiles, electrical utilities, radio, and motion pictures. Farming was revolutionized by machinery and the scientific use of fertilizers. Transportation needs were met first by railroads, then by highways, and in time by a network of commercial airlines. Telephone and telegraph were finally supplemented by radio as means of rapid communication. Factories turned out a flood of mechanical comforts and conveniences which the public bought eagerly.

Second Phase. Before the Industrial Revolution began and for some time after it got under way, business concerns were usually individually owned or were operated as partnerships. But as industry grew in size and efficiency, the old ways of doing business were inadequate to the demands put upon them. Large organizations and enormous sums of money were necessary to finance giant factories and to mar-

ket their products. The corporation form of business organization proved so useful in meeting these needs that it expanded rapidly.

Corporations make it possible for a large number of individuals to unite their capital in one industry or business. In the United States they are "chartered" by the various states. A charter makes a corporation a legal person. The concern may own and operate property, make contracts, and sue and be sued in the courts. Stockholders become part owners of the corporation, entitled to a share of future profits. They are usually liable for the corporation's debts only to the extent of their investment.

It soon became apparent that corporation organization afforded great advantages for large-scale industry and trade. It permitted large sums of money to be brought together from people who lived in widely scattered areas. Shares could change hands easily, but the corporation itself could go on operating indefinitely regardless of its changes of ownership. Control and operation could be centralized in the hands of boards of directors and managers. Huge capitalization made it possible for industries to lower costs and reduce risks by improving equipment, specializing jobs, using scientific research, and carrying on extensive advertising.

Giant corporations for producing and selling goods and financing industrial enterprise gradually came to occupy a position at the very center of the economy of the United States. By 1926 there were ten concerns in the nation incorporated for a billion dollars or more each; by the middle 30's the number had increased to twenty. Nine percent of the factories in the country employed 71 percent of the nation's wage earners. A study made in 1932 of 200 corporations revealed that 43 of the group had assets exceeding one-half billion dollars each. In 1933 the physical assets of the 200 largest nonfinancial corporations in the United States

" constituted about 60 percent of all those held by non-financial corporations, about half of the total industrial wealth, or about a fifth of the total national wealth. These few corporations owned physical assets aggregating some 64 billions of dollars."² At the same time 17 life-insurance companies held over 80 percent of the assets in this line of business and the 30 largest banks in the country held over one-third of the banking assets.

Robert A. Brady wrote in 1943

Speaking before the Temporary National Economic Committee, a representative of Dun and Bradstreet cited a few of the better known examples [of corporate concentration]. From various governmental sources he found that the output of automobiles was dominated to the extent of 86 percent by three companies, 47 percent of the beef products business by two companies, 20 percent of the bread and other bakery products produced by three companies, 90 percent of the can output by three companies, 40 percent of the cement by five, 80 percent of the cigarettes by three, 78 percent of the copper by four, 95 percent of the plate glass by two, 64 percent of the iron ore by four, 60.5 percent of the steel by three, and so on.³

When we consider that there are several hundred thousand business corporations, large and small, in the United States, we realize the great power held by the relatively few which have grown largest. So universal is the corporation and so influential on our ways of life that students

²Temporary National Economic Committee Monograph No. 11, p. 4. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1940.

Corporations may be classified as financial and nonfinancial. A financial corporation may be illustrated by an investment house or an insurance company. A nonfinancial concern carries on manufacturing or sells goods or services as the General Motors Corporation or the Western Union Telegraph Company.

³Brady, Robert A. *Business as a System of Power*. Columbia University Press, 1943, p. 210.

have come to use the term "the corporate revolution." Just as the machine and the factory changed many aspects of life a century ago, so the corporation is influencing our lives today.

Characteristics of Modern Industry. During the periods referred to as the first and second phases of the rise of big enterprise, society had moved from rural simplicity to industrial complexity. The first phase saw machine manufacturing and the factory system established. During the second phase machine industry continued to grow, but highly organized and powerful business and financial systems were erected upon it. The Industrial Revolution began about two centuries ago, but the most far-reaching changes in our financial and industrial order have come about during the past seventy-five years or less.

Perhaps the nature and problems of our present-day industrial world will be best understood if we enumerate some of its most obvious features.

1. Our volume of industrial production is vast and growing.
2. This production is based increasingly on automatic machinery and precision instruments.
3. Science and invention play an ever-increasing part in modern economic production. Methods are rapidly being improved. Synthetic products are becoming more numerous and important.⁴
4. The pursuit of profit leads to high-pressure salesmanship and extensive advertising.
5. As industry becomes more highly mechanized, skilled craftsmanship among workers becomes relatively less important. More work is done by machines, less by hand.
6. Agriculture is almost as dependent upon applied science and machinery as is manufacturing.

⁴In 1940 there were over 2200 industrial research laboratories in the United States employing more than 70,000 people and spending over 300 million dollars per year. Supplement to *Fortune*, December, 1942, p. 1.

- 7 The speed of communication and transportation is being stepped up steadily by telegraph, radio, television, and airplane, as well as by improvements in railroads, highways, and motor vehicles
- 8 Trade has passed from a national to an international basis. Raw products are assembled from all parts of the world, and manufactured articles are transported to the most remote areas
- 9 New methods of business and finance are growing up around expanding production and trade. At the center of these new methods stand various forms of the giant corporation

Business as a System of Power

Community of Interest It has been pointed out often in recent years that something in the nature of a "community" of large corporations has grown up in the United States. That is, these concerns have many common interests. From 200 to 250 giant corporations operate a large part of the nation's industry, sell an enormous volume of its products, and influence the investment of its money and credit.

Some of these corporations are nonfinancial in nature, others financial. Nonfinancial groups manufacture goods or sell services, such as electrical power or telephone service. They are illustrated by the United States Steel Corporation, General Motors Corporation, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and the International Harvester Company. Financial groups consist of such concerns as banks, trust companies, and investment houses. Insurance companies, which provide a particular type of service, are also among the most influential financial institutions.

There exists today a wide separation between the ownership and the management of many of these giant corporations. Thousands of people may own stock in a concern, but its actual operation may be controlled by a small board of

directors and a paid manager. Often the stockholders are indifferent to management and interested only in receiving their share of future profits. They are quite willing to let a few men exercise all the voting rights within the corporation. Sometimes, too, corporations are organized with both voting and nonvoting stock. Those who hold the latter have no voice in company policy making. By limiting the amount of voting stock and keeping it in the hands of a few persons, a corporation worth many millions can be completely controlled by a few persons on the basis of a small investment.

Community of interest and action is promoted among large corporate concerns by certain methods which bind them loosely together. Interlocking directorates are common. The various directors of a bank, for instance, may also be members of the boards of directors of several industrial corporations. One writer states that 43 of the 200 largest nonfinancial corporations in the United States in 1932 had assets exceeding one-half billion dollars each. The forty-three concerns, which had thousands of stockholders, were controlled by 166 individuals who served as interlocking directors between them, ten banks, and three insurance companies.⁵ A recent federal bulletin says, "Of the 3544 directorships on the boards of the 200 largest nonfinancial and 50 largest financial corporations in 1935, 400 men held approximately a third. . . . As might be expected, the extent of the interlocking varies widely among the big companies. Twenty-five of the companies had no interlocks with others on the list of 250, but 151, representing nearly three-fourths of the assets, interlocked with three or more others and 10 interlocked with 26 or more. . . . It would be too great a strain on human nature to expect that individuals holding more than one directorship would refrain from

⁵Barnes, H. E. *An Economic History of the Western World*. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937, p. 528.

carrying the interests of one company over into their deliberations on the affairs of other corporations"⁶

The services of large financial institutions also tend to bind groups of corporations loosely together. Big business concerns require large amounts of money or credit at intervals and need help in selling their securities to the investing public. So one or two large banks may bind a dozen or more industrial corporations into a sort of community of interest.

Corporations also hold the stocks and bonds of one another. Banks and insurance companies purchase a large part of the bonds issued by corporate business. It is even possible for corporations to control one another outright. The holding company has promoted this practice, which was for a time especially common among utility concerns. A holding company is itself a corporation formed for the purpose of controlling other corporations. This is accomplished by owning a controlling portion of their voting stock. If one holding company owns more than one-half the voting stock of several corporations, it may be able to dictate the policies of all of them. A few individuals who have only a relatively small investment may thus control the use of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property.

A further method of unifying corporations and promoting close cooperation between them is through the activities of trade and business associations. There were 2400 such associations in the United States in 1937, including groups of utilities, steel companies, manufacturers' associations, bankers, and railroads. These groups vary in size and importance, but they all tend to promote community of interest. When several such associations are dominated by the largest corporations within particular industries and the

⁶Temporary National Economic Committee Monograph No. 11 p. 7
Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1940

large corporations in turn are united loosely around banks, the net effect is to increase the centralization of power in big business.

Abuses Laid to Corporate Power. The public has been made aware of the problems arising from concentration of the power of big business by various private studies and public investigations.

In the first place, it is charged, the domination of a few great corporations within each line of business and industrial enterprise stifles economic competition. While farmers and small business firms are obliged to compete with one another on prices and quality of products, big corporations compete only by expensive advertising campaigns. So firm is their control that they are able to keep their prices rigid. When hard times come, they limit output and dismiss workers rather than reduce prices, thus contributing to want and unemployment.

Furthermore, giant concerns are able to force many small businessmen to conform to big business policy. They insist on "price leadership" and "non-price competition," by which is meant forcing all dealers in certain products to retail goods at prices fixed from above. Small business and industrial firms which do not follow the "lines of policy" declared by big corporations or trade associations either exist on sufferance or are forced out of business.

Periods of war or "defense preparation" further solidify the control of large industries. In such periods the government becomes the principal customer of industry. Contracts for the manufacture of supplies are given to the largest industries, which in turn subcontract part of the business to small concerns. The latter thus become dependent on their larger rivals for survival.

The control of patents basic to machine industry is another aid in stifling competition. The federal government

grants exclusive patent rights for a specified period of years. Corporations which control patents basic to certain industries are thus able to withhold them from possible competitors and to use their control to determine how much of certain goods shall be manufactured, where it shall sell, and at what prices. During the early months of the Second World War armament was delayed because some industries which had more orders than they could fill were unwilling to permit the use of their patents by other concerns which might become postwar competitors.¹

Second, it is contended that the rise of big business to a central position in our economy is changing the entire nature of our property system. At one time the savings of individuals were invested largely in land and small business ventures. This property was really private since individuals had complete control of its use. But very often today savings are invested in the shares of corporations. These concerns are not controlled by their owners but by small groups of directors and managers. They are quasi-public in nature, representing thousands of stockholders, tens of thousands of employees, and hundreds of thousands of customers. The individual shareholders in such ventures relinquish private control over their money and its use. In effect, they turn control over to a few men in return for a promise of future profits.

To speak of "private business," "private property," and "individual initiative" when alluding to the business corporation giants of today is absurd, it is often pointed out. Everything these concerns do is of public interest. They affect the lives and welfare of so many millions of people that their influence almost equals that of the government. Private control is removed entirely from the hands of their passive

¹Arnold, Thurman. *Democracy and Free Enterprise*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. pp. 17-19.

owners and the only initiative required is from managers and directors.

In the third place, the influence of trade and business associations is exerted usually in the interest of big business control and profit, regardless of the welfare of other groups in the population, some critics claim. Such associations are used often as cover for organized campaigns against labor unions, for instance. Or millions of dollars may be spent by large industries through a trade association on propaganda designed to promote "right thinking" among the public and in the schools; right thinking being, of course, acceptance of the ideas of the leaders of the association about business, labor, government, and other matters. Such campaigns are euphemistically called "public relations," never propaganda.

Finally, there is no denying the undoubted political influence which big business can and does wield. We shall have more to say of "pressure groups" in government in Chapters 9-11, but the most usual methods of influence open to centralized business power should be mentioned here. The most obvious is by campaign contributions. Though corporations are forbidden by law to contribute in national elections, interested board members and others may give substantial sums. Persons interested in the affairs of corporate groups may also bring out their own candidates and give them formidable support by money and publicity. It is also possible for corporate groups and trade associations to maintain large and expensive lobbies in Washington, D. C., and in various state capitals. Sometimes campaigns of letters or propaganda may be organized to influence the votes of congressmen or state legislators on various measures. In such campaigns an effort is usually made to persuade the little businessman and the farmer that their interests are identical with those of large corporations.

It is just as legitimate in a democracy for big corpora-

tions to influence government as for any other group to do so. But because the money and resources of big business groups are so great, the public should be aware of their methods and critical as to the purposes of their activities.

International Cartels. There is one field from which small industries are almost completely shut out by giant concerns. This is the area of international trade. Because the giants in each field act together in the use of their power, small concerns of limited resources can sell internationally, as a rule, only by allying themselves with bigger corporations. But there has been little tendency on the part of big corporations to help small ones find an international market. Instead, big corporations in the United States and other industrial nations have tended to make international alliances with big industries in other countries.⁸ This practice has led to the development of international cartels which create special problems and dangers.

A cartel is a voluntary compact or agreement between two or more concerns in the same line of business by which they agree to regulate certain phases of the business in a manner profitable to all parties taking part.⁹ International cartels in rubber, chemicals, diamonds, tin, munitions, and steel have been given considerable publicity in recent years. They are accused of using their joint power to stifle competition, fix prices, divide up markets, and control industrial raw materials.

The dangers from growing international cartels have been

⁸Brady (see note 3), pp. 237-38.

⁹Cartels may be confined to one nation or be international in scope. Use of the term to apply to business combinations is more common in Europe, especially Germany, than in the United States. Because "combinations in restraint of trade" are prohibited by law in the United States, there has been a tendency for industries to merge rather than to make compacts. The term has recently been used in the United States, however, to refer to groups of financial or industrial firms which act as blocs either because of interlocking directorships or for other reasons.

pointed out often. They govern the use of important raw materials according to their own desire for profits rather than according to world needs. (Rubber provides an example.) They bulwark the entrenched power of giant corporations in various nations by exchanging patents, dividing markets, and suppressing competition. They are irresponsible because no national government can control them completely and no system of international control exists. Finally, they provide a constant threat of war because some of the most powerful are dependent upon armaments for full prosperity.

The Centralization of Government Power

Government as Benevolent Referee. The traditional way of thinking about the relations between government and business in the United States is, from the standpoint of the *laissez-faire*, or "let alone," doctrine. We sometimes hear the ideas of this doctrine referred to as "economic individualism."

Economic individualism as a theory of business came about through a misinterpretation of democratic ideals. As we have seen in earlier chapters, the government of the United States arose as a protest against the arbitrary power of rulers. Men came to believe that they had natural rights about constitutions and laws and that governments were formed to protect such rights. They applied the natural-rights idea of liberty to property and economic activities and formulated the theory of economic individualism.

Men should be let alone, they said, to seek their own self-interest in business matters. Society is self-adjusting in economic affairs. The struggle between business units to benefit themselves will result in competition. Where scarcity exists prices, wages, and profits will be high and the field will attract many persons. Overcrowded businesses will cause profits to drop and drive producers and workers into other

lines Thus competition operating in a market free from government regulation will bring about unplanned adjustment of every phase of economic life

According to this theory, the role of government in economic life is merely that of a policeman or judge to protect property, assure fair play, and arbitrate disagreements "That government is best which governs least" came to be the slogan of those who embraced this doctrine

The weakness of laissez-faire theory was that, from the very first, it described a state of affairs which did not exist One of the principal reasons for setting up a strong government under the Constitution was to regulate by law the commerce of the time Within a few decades industry was protected by a federal tariff, thus establishing a barrier to "free competition" Government agencies have since regulated and aided businesses by means of banking laws, patents, copyrights, charters, and the enforcement of contracts Outright aid has been extended to railroads, shipbuilding, aviation, armaments manufacture, shipping, and other business activities Government agencies have encouraged and helped corporations to open up new markets and new sources of raw materials abroad Some forms of enterprise, such as the postoffice and public utilities, either have been taken over entirely by federal and local government or strictly regulated by state government because they could not operate with efficiency and profit as competitive business

There were several reasons why economic individualism, or laissez faire, seemed to work in the United States for a time One of these was that a large part of business activity was actually individual and competitive for several decades after the Constitution was adopted Until after the Civil War large industrial and trade concerns were few Small farmers and businessmen, though they complained about selling for low prices and buying for high ones, felt most of

the time that they were competing on the basis of prices and the quality of their products. Also, men who failed did not need to walk the streets unemployed as they so often do today. Land was plentiful and wages high in proportion to living costs, so it was easy to make a new start in life. The population was increasing throughout Europe and America, new industries were being established, and world markets were expanding. Men were intent on "opening up the country" and the prospect of prosperity seemed endless.

Under such circumstances it was easy to confuse economic individualism with democratic idealism. Democratic yearning led men to want to be secure in their livelihood and free from any form of coercion. They wanted to express their opinions freely on politics, religion, and other matters. The majority of Americans had many of these freedoms as the nation developed and they assumed that they had them because they had "free enterprise." They could see no way in which they might lose their liberties except through governmental tyranny. So they took it for granted that if their government did not become too strong, justice and freedom would prevail. In short, Americans attributed the prosperity and independence which they had to the ideas which they held, not to the natural wealth of the country and the progress of science. We are a prosperous people because we are a free people, they often said, and it did not seem to occur to them that perhaps they were free because they were prosperous, in part at least, and that prosperity was due to other reasons entirely.

Reasons for the Centralization of Power in Government. It was not until after 1875 that large numbers of people realized that so-called free competition was not working. Since that time we have had rapid development of government regulation, with a corresponding centralization of power in government agencies.

After 1875 certain kinds of business grew so large and powerful that some kind of government regulation became inevitable. Some business firms were complaining of unfair trade practices on the part of their competitors. Many dealers and factory owners accused large corporations of efforts to squeeze small competitors out of business. Western farmers and merchants complained of unfair freight rates and other price discriminations. Consumers resented the misbranding and even outright adulteration of various industrial products. Laboring groups declared that individual workers must have special protection against the hazards of injury and unemployment which grew out of industrial methods.

In 1887 Congress established the Interstate Commerce Commission, primarily to supervise the railroads. In 1890 the Sherman Act prohibited contracts and combinations in restraint of trade. These acts began a succession of laws setting up federal regulations and establishing bureaus and commissions for their enforcement. Paralleling federal developments, the states have set up many regulatory bodies.

The various reasons why federal regulations have developed rapidly during the past half century can be briefly summarized.

First, the national and international scope of trade has made federal regulation necessary. Giant industries assemble their goods from wide areas and sell their products in every part of the Union and in foreign markets. Such concerns as railroads, telegraph companies, and aviation lines are by their very nature indifferent to state boundaries and state governments.

Second, the public has demanded restrictions on many forms of enterprise in the interest of preventing industrial accidents, regulating the hours and working conditions of women and children, and protecting the general health and welfare.

Third, various forms of industry and trade have requested

regulation to insure fair trade practices among themselves and to prevent cutthroat competition. Coal mining and railroads provide examples. Banking regulation and supervision have come about, also, largely on the demand of business for a system that would provide greater protection in time of panic or economic depression.

Fourth, two wars and a devastating economic depression have hastened the concentration of control in federal agencies. The inability of industry and trade to cope with the unemployment of the 1930's convinced many reluctant people that some kind of over-all government planning was necessary to avoid disaster. The wars which preceded and followed this depression required such complete organization of national resources that private business affairs seem less important than heretofore. The fact that various forms of business have found war extremely profitable does not conceal from the discerning the fact that such grave problems have been created that business is apt to find the yoke of government regulation tighter hereafter than ever before.

The Flow of Power. In recent decades governmental power has moved steadily toward central control. As problems have enlarged in scope and complexity, local governments have tended more and more to become mere administrative subdivisions of the states in dealing with business, education, health, highways, and taxation. At the same time, the states, unable to cope with agencies national and international in extent, have seen much of their authority transferred to the federal government.

Within the federal government itself there has taken place a similar concentration of power. Many of the problems on which Congress must legislate are so involved and technical in nature that detailed laws cannot be passed. So Congress passes general enabling acts and designates administrative officers or bodies to put them into force. For such purposes it creates numerous boards and commissions and

clothes them with power. These administrative agencies, in turn, issue rules and regulations which have all the force of law. The agencies force compliance with law and even hear and judge legal disputes. The net effect of all this is further to centralize power, not alone in the federal government, but in the administrative branch.

The movement of governmental power into the hands of national agencies and officers is not peculiar to the United States alone. The same tendency has long been apparent in England, Germany, Sweden, France, Russia, and various other nations. This suggests that some of the underlying causes may be international. Believing this to be the case, many people suggest that we must devise some form of international machinery strong enough to cope with these trends. (We shall consider at other points whether these trends are necessarily undemocratic.)

Federal Administrative Agencies The administrative branch of our federal government, as every student knows, is composed of an elected President and Vice-President, ten appointed Cabinet Secretaries and their many subordinates, and various appointed independent boards and commissions. This organization looks simple enough in broad outline, but proves to be large and complex when examined in detail.

Each of the ten Cabinet posts is subdivided into several bureaus and subordinate offices and agencies, in some instances a score or more. There are, also, some thirty-odd special boards and commissions. Some of these are loosely organized into such groups as the Federal Security Agency and the Federal Loan Agency. Those which are called "independent agencies" are really dependent upon Congress for appropriations and upon the President for administrative leadership, but they are outside the Cabinet.

The most rapid growth of agencies created to deal with special problems dates from 1933, though certain important

commissions were established long before that time. During the depression years following 1929, several score agencies were set up, some of which have since been discontinued. When the United States entered the Second World War, more than a score of new bodies were at once created.

In June, 1943, the administrative branch of the federal government alone had over 3 million employees. This was an all-time high point, due to war activities, but the growth of administrative personnel had been rapid for some time. In 1915 the administrative payrolls carried some 400,000 names. During the First World War the number passed 900,000, then dropped to slightly over 500,000 during the 1920's, rising only a few thousand each year. In 1933 the number passed 600,000 and had reached a million by 1940.

The Fear of Bureaucracy. Concentration of power, particularly in the federal government, and the corresponding growth of the administrative branch of government have led to many expressions of fear that we are coming to be governed by a bureaucracy. This term means rule by government offices or bureaus. It implies rule according to formalized regulation or procedure.

The evils of bureaucracy are cogently stated by those who fear its growth. Bureaucratic government, they say, is impersonal, cold, inflexible. All affairs are conducted by written rule or regulation, thus allowing for few exceptions and little individual initiative. Second, it is given to "red tape" and inefficiency. Rules and authority overlap and there is much jealousy between offices. Decisive action is impossible and delay and inefficiency are the rule. Third, bureaucrats are appointed, sometimes by elected officials and sometimes by examination. Hence they are unresponsive to public opinion. The elected officials who head bureaus are changed frequently, so affairs are carried on by written rule rather than by intelligent executive direction. Fourth, bureaucratic

positions do not attract the highest type of job holder. They appeal to persons who conform, who lack initiative. Finally, it is charged that bureaucracy is self-aggrandizing, that is, each bureau reaches out constantly for more duties and power. Bureaus are always willing to expand but rarely willing to retrench. It follows that the tendency of bureaucratic government is thus to promote increasing centralization of power.

As power is centralized in the hands of administrative officers who govern on the basis of rules and regulations, our lives will become hopelessly "regimented," we are warned. That is, we shall be increasingly classified into groups and units and dealt with by our government on this basis rather than as individual citizens. We shall have more to say on this subject at various places in this book.

Those who warn of bureaucracy refer frequently to two trends in government in the recent past. They point to the growth of administrative personnel discussed above. But more effectively they caution of the great and increasing power exercised by governmental boards and commissions through the growth of rules and regulations. They point out that various administrative agencies issue volume after volume of rules which have the net effect of supplementing the law. We have reached the point, say the critics, where the citizen is uncertain whether many of his actions are directed by laws passed by Congress or by administrative rules.

Those who believe that the dangers of bureaucratic government are exaggerated by the fearful, point out that bureaucracy, in the sense of rule by written regulation, is not peculiar to government alone. It arises from bigness wherever it is found. Big corporations become just as truly bureaucratic as government agencies. It follows, therefore, that our emphasis must not be put on preventing the development of government agencies to the extent that they

are necessary. Rather, we should give attention to the means of increasing the efficiency of large, highly organized bodies of workers wherever they may exist. In government we should emphasize service and devotion to the public welfare. We should provide adequate salaries, healthful working conditions, and security from unemployment for all administrative personnel so that able men and women will be attracted to the work.

We shall have more to say on the subject of administrative power in Chapter 10.

Where Do We Stand?

Some Sources of Confusion. Up to this point in this chapter we have traced in broad outline two highly important developments. First, we noted the rise of giant corporations in industry, trade, and finance and the rapid growth of their power in economic affairs. Second, we saw how attempts to regulate large corporations and to meet the complex problems of modern life have led to the centralization of power in government, especially in its administrative branch.

Noting these trends John Citizen is apt to conclude that we are developing a head-on collision between "big business" and "big government." More specifically, he sees that we must face the very real problem as to the extent to which big corporations of various kinds are to be self-regulating and the extent to which they are to be regulated by administrative agencies set up by the state and federal governments, especially the latter.

This theme of the relationship between business and government is the subject of endless discussion. Editors, columnists, and magazine contributors return to the subject week after week. Public forums promote debates which are

broadcast to thousands of listeners. Chambers of Commerce, labor unions, and business associations propagandize according to their respective prejudices. Candidates for office issue calculated statements designed to appeal to the fears of various groups of voters.

Unfortunately, a great deal of this discussion is both confused and confusing. It is carried on by those persons who have already "made up their emotions." They have no desire to examine carefully the many problems involved. Rather, their concern is to arouse in others feelings of antagonism toward either "big business" or "big government." But even those who try hardest to put aside propaganda and emotional pleading may fall into many errors. Such difficulties as those we spoke of in Chapter I—for instance, word trouble and faulty reasoning—rise to plague them. Before we go farther let us note briefly some of the most usual kinds of errors into which thinkers in this field are apt to fall.

One of the most common sources of word trouble, as we know, comes from using the same word to express entirely different ideas. Two men are discussing "government control of business," for example. One of them has a small grocery store in a country town. When he speaks of business he thinks of this grocery and other small retail firms like it. The second man lost his life-savings through the failure of a bank and a large insurance company. The word "business" is apt to bring up an entirely different set of ideas and emotions to him. Is it probable that these two men will understand each other very clearly?

The word "freedom" also is used often in most discussions of government regulation, yet those who take part may be thinking of something quite different when the word is spoken. The corporation manager who believes in the *laissez-faire* doctrine may think of freedom to manage his business as he pleases. His opponent may think in terms of a govern-

ment guarantee of a minimum wage and an old-age pension which will free him from worry about his future.

Word trouble is also encountered when words are used sweepingly and vaguely. The terms "business" and "government" themselves are so used. We hear frequently such declarations as "government should stay out of business" or "business should stay out of government." The people who say such things are probably thinking about one specific grievance. For instance, the first assertion may be made by a man who resents the regulation of railroad rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The second may be made by one who thinks that the officers of the National Association of Manufacturers should not try to influence the votes of congressmen. If they would state exactly what they mean, straight thinking would be possible.

Actually, the people who use the two expressions quoted here do not mean what they imply. They know that automobiles made in privately managed factories will continue to run on publicly built roads, that both the postoffice and Western Union will doubtless operate side by side. They would admit to themselves that congressional lobbying has some good points as well as some dangers. Nor do they actually believe that the city, state, and federal governments should quit operating the forests, farms, parks, dams, hospitals, warehouses, schools, colleges, postoffices, wharves, street railways, vessels, and airplanes which make them the biggest business enterprises in the nation.

Faulty reasoning, the enemy of straight thinking, is likewise especially common in discussing problems of government and business. Instances come to our attention every day. Sometimes the generalization which is taken for granted (the major premise; see Chapter 1) is faulty; sometimes it is the minor premise or the conclusion drawn. Feelings color attempts at logic as they color the use of words.

A type of logic quite usual on the part of those who fancy themselves reasoning about the relative efficiency of "private initiative" and "government regulation" is illustrated by the following example Mr A and Mr B are engaged in a discussion

Says A, "More progress in providing human comfort and convenience has been made in the past 150 years than in all the previous history of civilization This period of progress has coincided with the rise of giant business corporations under the minimum of government regulation Therefore, it follows that we shall continue to make the greatest possible progress if industry and business are left without regulation in the future"

Replies B, "On the contrary, look at the marvelous production record of industry during the Second World War This period of production, which dwarfs all others, was made when government regulated the production and sale of all goods far more rigidly than ever before It follows, therefore, that the maximum of industrial efficiency in the future is dependent upon complete governmental domination of our economy"

Students will need no help in detecting fallacies in this kind of logic Yet such arguments are not unusual, in fact, books which affect great profundity give many pages to such reasoning

Even more absurd, but equally common, is a line of argument which declares, in substance, that (1) Property rights are recognized by the Constitution of the United States, (2) profits are a form of property, (3) therefore, to restrict profits is to "undermine" the Constitution Reasoning of this kind has been detected in the learned opinions of solemn judges

With these cautions let us go ahead to see what are some other ideas frequently brought up in connection with the

"conflict of giants" which is described in this chapter.

Are We in Danger of Fascism? There are many sincere persons who profess to see in the struggle for power in the modern world the danger that fascism may result. The word *fascism* first came to be familiar as the name of the Fascist party in Italy, but it has developed a broader meaning through use. Fascist government is the direct opposite of democratic government in ideals and in practice. Under fascism individual ideas and welfare are of no importance; everyone lives merely to serve the state. The state is controlled not by the people but by a few self-chosen "leaders." Such leaders are maintained in power by their direct or indirect control over the wealth and military forces of a nation. They keep the masses in subjection by propaganda which divides and confuses the people and appeals to their fear that disaster may result from social change.

Any industrial nation may develop a fascist government in this sense, we are warned. It need not resemble necessarily the Nazi government of Germany or the Fascist government of Italy in structure. The essential elements of fascism are present when a relatively few persons control a nation's productive wealth and so far dominate its politics that they can dictate the policies of government. Demagogues and dictators can always be found to rule for such groups.

Trends toward fascism exist in the United States, as in all the world's leading nations, it is claimed. Some of the tendencies which we have noted in this chapter are cited in evidence of this danger. Concentration of control over industrial and financial institutions has placed great power in the hands of a few hundred persons. They rule industry and trade for private profit primarily, it is charged, with little responsibility to the public or even to their own stockholders. Laboring elements are divorced from control over their jobs. Consumers exercise only the most limited influence over

the quality and the prices of the goods which they buy. The masses of the people have little control over the property rights which they hold in industry. Even land ownership is being concentrated in fewer hands as the number of corporation farms, farm tenants, and renters increases. Millions of people have no property except automobiles, clothing, and similar possessions, which add to their comfort but give them no real power.

Continuing the argument, those who are fearful point out that economic problems now form the issues of politics. Whereas the business community and governmental agencies once checked each other, they now work together closely. Property rights tend to overshadow human rights. Questions of civil liberty and justice to minorities are no longer tested by the ideals of religion and democracy, but are settled on the basis of the fears and rivalries which various groups feel toward one another. Laws are dictated by manufacturers, laborers, miners, bankers, physicians, farmers, and various other "special interest" groups without regard to the general welfare. The major parties become more alike each year, proposing no genuine reform, but engaging in wordy sham battles which add to the confusion.

The danger from this trend of events, say the critics, lies in the steady decline of popular control. Just as the masses of Americans have lost property control, so they are losing political control. Lawmaking bodies tend to represent special interests rather than the public as a whole. Power is concentrating steadily in the administrative branch of government where it is exercised by a group of officials who are not chosen by vote of the people. So vast is governmental machinery that it is becoming impersonal and inflexible. We are tending toward increasing regulation of every aspect of our lives by governmental agencies. If the real power behind these agencies ceases to be the people, we shall have a fascist

state, even though we may continue to call it democracy.

International trends also tend to promote the growth of fascist power, some writers claim. International cartels and



From the Kansas City Star

"GETTING AN EARFUL"

trade agreements unite the antidemocratic and reactionary elements of the leading nations. They are thus able to influence governmental administrations to become the servants of trade. Tariffs and other restrictions are placed upon international commerce. National political leaders reveal clearly that they are frightened by the problems and the dangers of our time. Confused, some of them encourage the national rivalries and armaments which breed wars. Others show a

tendency to get their heads together across national boundaries, not to promote world cooperation but to agree upon lines of propaganda which will still the restlessness of the masses

On the contrary, those who think the danger of fascism exaggerated declare that such arguments result from hysterical fears. They insist that the American voters have always had the power to check economic or political trends which were considered dangerous. Congress and the courts keep a tight rein on our administrative officers. The power of business and industrial management is undoubtedly great in the United States, but by no means dominant. This is shown by the controls placed upon it in war, depression, and other crises. Furthermore, there is no denying the efficiency of both industrial management and governmental administration. Ways must be found for the two to work together if we are to maintain a high standard of living. The exaggerated fears which detect a plot in every international conference or trade agreement are absurd. Those who hold them are the worst enemies of international cooperation, no matter how good their intentions. We must look at our problems "realistically," making our judgments from time to time on the basis of what is true, not on what we fear.

We shall not attempt to determine here to what extent the truth lies in these various charges, denials, and counter-charges. Students will do well to reserve final judgment until their studies and observation have carried them far beyond the scope of this book. But it is apparent to all of us that great forces are moving in today's world—forces which are vital to our welfare. The trends of the time may lead toward a more democratic future if we understand and direct them, to complete loss of liberty if we remain ignorant and indifferent.

The Future Roles of Business and Government

The Dogmatists. There are many kinds and shades of opinion in the United States about what is happening to us and to our democratic aspirations. At the extremes of opinion stand the dogmatists. Their ideas rest upon some form of belief which they think settles questions without room for argument. Communists, who follow the teachings of Marx and Engels, are dogmatists. They seek the answers to all problems in the words of these two writers rather than by investigation and thought. Equally dogmatic are those who cling to the literal doctrines of *laissez faire*. They would retreat to some mythical "golden age" and avoid facing our problems. Fortunately, extreme dogmatists are relatively few and are declining in number. The great majority of Americans understand that the central problems of our time are unique. They realize that we must think our way out of trouble; there are no adequate precedents to follow.

The most stimulating thinking about the dilemma created by big business vs. big government is being done by those who are trying hardest to study the problems involved. They are seeking—not always successfully, but usually sincerely—to avoid dogmatism and word confusion and to think straight about the actual issues. Such students usually proceed from two assumptions. First, they assume that the rapid trend toward centralized power in both government and business is a reality, not just a suspicion or a fear expressed by a few persons. Second, they assume that neither government nor business is an end in itself. That is, both exist to serve some more remote ideals or purposes, such as to "improve the general welfare," "raise the standards of living," or "increase human happiness."

This does not mean that all the earnest thinkers recom-

mend the same course of action when they study big business and big government. Even though they may begin with the two assumptions stated, they define terms differently and have varying ideas about what will contribute most to our long-run welfare and happiness. So they emerge from their studies with various opinions.

The divergent opinions about how to reconcile the power of big government and the power held by big business can best be understood if we summarize briefly the attack on the problems made by two groups of thinkers. One of these groups makes what we shall call the "progressive business" approach. Though spokesmen for this group differ on details, they agree on enough ideas that a fairly accurate summary can be made of the outlines of their opinion. The second group makes what we might call the "progressive government" approach. Here, too, there is considerable difference in detail, but certain points of agreement can be found.

Of course, we know before summarizing these two types of opinion that they will differ sharply because they rest upon two different sets of assumptions. That is, their champions take for granted different ideas about the purposes and importance of business and government.

The "Progressive Business" Approach Those who speak for the progressive wing of business begin by recognizing the inevitability of change. They note that one of the principal aims of the efforts of Americans has always been to promote change, so we should not be surprised when it occurs. The world in which we live today is vastly different from that of a few decades ago, they remind us, so it is inevitable that we should change our minds about the relationships of business and government to fit the facts which we face.

These spokesmen begin by acknowledging the separation of ownership and control in the management of big corpora-

tions. They admit the power held by industrial management over labor and over the public which buys goods and invests in business enterprise. They insist, however, that the managers and financiers of industry are no happier about this state of affairs than anyone else. The managers are eager to arouse the interest of stockholders and to find a basis for service to the public. They want big business to assume its full share of responsibility for the general welfare.

The welfare of the future, they declare, rests upon finding a basis for the full cooperation of industry, trade, and finance with the agencies of government. Such cooperation must rest upon recognition of the separate roles of business and government. It is the function of business activities to produce the goods which men need and want. The duty of government agencies is to supervise and aid business and other social activities so that the greatest good to the greatest number will result.

It should be the purpose of law and government agencies, say the spokesmen, to create the right conditions for business to operate profitably and serviceably to the public. Government agencies should not compete with privately controlled concerns. Tax laws should be revised so that taxes will not fall so hard on the incomes and profits of corporations. The antitrust laws should be enforced so that big corporations will be obliged to compete with one another on price and quality of goods. The tariff, which is a form of tax on goods shipped into the United States from abroad, should be lowered and other means should be taken to extend international trade. If the patent laws are abused, they should be changed. Corporations should be permitted, perhaps even forced, to incorporate with the federal government, rather than in one state, so they will have a sense of responsibility to the entire nation and will be subject to legal control. The efforts of privately controlled industry to promote pros-

perity should be supplemented by the government by means of old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and enlarged expenditures on health, housing, and education. When the inevitable hard times occur at intervals, and industry is forced to restrict production and lay off workers, the government should "take up the slack" by such public works as building roads, schools, and other public improvements.¹⁰

The "Progressive Government" Approach The advocates of this approach insist that business spokesmen have the cart before the horse. The "progressive government" group speaks scornfully of plans which are aimed at "making democracy safe for business." Rather, they insist, we should be considering how we can make trade and industry contribute to social welfare and strengthen political democracy. Our central aim should not be the welfare of business but the welfare of the public. We should be concerned with human well-being and development, and both government and business agencies should be merely tools for social improvement.

We are faced today by immensely powerful business corporations on the one hand and extremely powerful government agencies on the other. But government agencies can be indirectly controlled by the voting public whereas privately owned corporations are subject to no such control. It follows that government agencies, subject to popular control, must carry the greatest share of the load in planning for the future if our society and government are to remain democratic. The leaders of industry and trade must be content with a subordinate role.

The so-called "free private enterprise" of our day is pri-

¹⁰Editors of *Fortune* "The Domestic Economy," Supplement to *Fortune* Dec., 1942; Nathan, R. R., "A Plan for Free Enterprise" in *Common Sense* March, 1944; Nathan, R. R., *Mobilizing for Abundance* McGraw Hill, 1944; Johnston, Eric, *America Unlimited* Doubleday, Doran, 1944.

vate but not free, say the advocates of greater control by government. Our industrial and financial structure is dominated by a few thousand persons out of millions. They operate it as an industrial oligarchy, concerned mainly with survival and profit and without serious regard for public welfare. If we have no business regulation, we shall have frequent depressions and widespread unemployment. If we allow big business to "govern itself" by collusive practices, we shall soon have a corporate economy so powerful that it can control the government. We are, therefore, faced by a situation which gives us no alternative but to set up strong governmental controls and seek ways to keep them democratic.

The most desirable course to follow is a form of partnership between the government and business enterprise. The principal partner should be the government, backed and controlled by the voters. Industrial research should be carried on at government expense and its findings made available to all business concerns, large or small. Patents should be closely controlled by the government so they can be used for the general welfare more largely than for private profit. The antitrust laws should be enforced rigidly to prevent monopolies and to compel competition in prices and quality of goods. Public agencies should supervise the use of our natural resources to prevent waste. This would involve virtual partnership between the government and private corporations in such fields as mining, forestry, and the petroleum industry. The development and operation of railroads, electric power, aviation, housing, radio, and perhaps other forms of enterprise which are vitally important to all persons should be carried out jointly by private corporations and government agencies, so that each will act as a check upon the other. Steps should be taken to prevent corporate giants from getting complete control of such new forms of

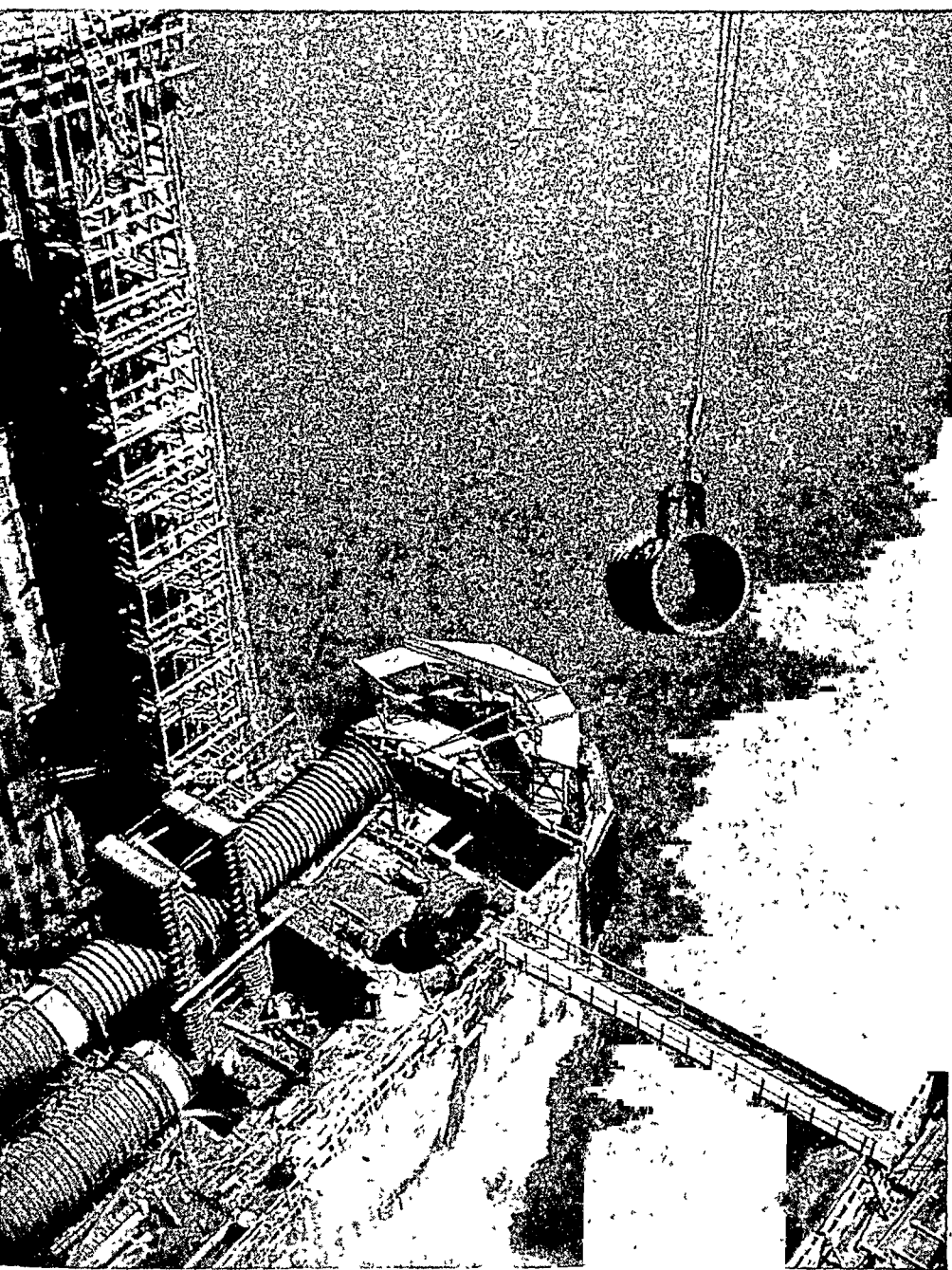
industry as plastics, synthetics, light metals, chemicals, and aircraft. Perhaps the government should become an open partner in some business corporations and operate others outright in order to show what can be done in the way of efficiency and low prices. Little business should be publicly aided by loans and otherwise. Farmers and consumers should be encouraged to buy and sell cooperatively.

Paralleling this program, say its advocates, we should continue and enlarge our present system of public insurance against unemployment, disability, and old age. We should expand public health work and education. Large-scale public works should be planned and executed to keep the working population fully employed. All this activity should be supported by a carefully constructed system of taxation which falls most heavily upon those who are most able to pay.

A program of this kind would not strangle private enterprise, its proponents claim. On the contrary, it would stimulate business as a whole. Little business would prosper as big business is curbed. Far more goods than ever before could be produced and consumed. There would be less unemployment and the standards of living of the American public would be higher than ever before. We would end the paradox of widespread want in the midst of plenty.¹¹

The Place of the State as Servant. The foregoing discussion makes several points abundantly clear. It is clear in the first place that those who put their minds to the central problem involved in this chapter recognize that the time for drifting and muddling through has passed. Big business and big government, with all their vast power for good or evil, are a reality, not just a future possibility.

¹¹Editors of *The New Republic* "Charter for America," Supplement to *The New Republic*, April 19, 1943. Corey, Lewis *The Unfinished Task*, Viking Press, 1942. Dreher, Carl, *The Coming Showdown*, Little, Brown & Co., 1938; Chase, Stuart, *Where's the Money Coming From?*, Twentieth Century Fund, 1943.



Photograph from the Bureau of Reclamation, Dept. of Interior

BIG GOVERNMENT

The Grand Coulee Dam, Washington, is the largest concrete dam in the world.

Realization of this point makes it easier for us to recognize one of the most difficult problems of our time. This problem can be stated briefly thus: Shall we let the power which grows out of economic and political centralization become an object of struggle, of contest between various groups? Or can we make it a means of accomplishment, of getting things done for the welfare of all the people? Shall we break up into groups and carry on a many-sided contest between parties, demagogues, corporations, labor unions, farm blocs, business associations, and government agencies? Or have we the wisdom to harness economic and political power, as we might harness a great waterfall, and make the power work for one and all? Shall power be feared, or shall it be used?

Second, it is clear that the great majority of Americans, of whatever shade of opinion, expect the government to play a bigger role in economic affairs in the future than at any time in the past. Some persons think the efforts of government agencies should be restricted to aiding and supervising private industry, trade, and finance. Others think it desirable for the government to become a partner in various kinds of economic enterprise. These differences are important. They are far less important, though, than the fact that there is a large measure of agreement that the government cannot avoid increased economic responsibility of some kind, perhaps of many kinds. It is at the points of agreement, not on the basis of differences, that a constructive approach to the future can be made. If we are agreed that the State must hereafter serve us better in meeting our economic problems, then we have a beginning point for constructive thinking and planning.

Finally, it is apparent that we shall not reach agreement by carrying on quarrels over words and phrases. Shallow speakers and writers are forever laying down barrages of

such terms as "the American way," "bureaucratic rule," "reaction," "socialism," "freedom of enterprise," "constitutionalism," and "individual initiative." The more penetrating student sees clearly that we must look past names, with all their emotional associations, and gaze squarely at the problems of our time. We must be too "tough-minded" to let ourselves be hopelessly bewildered by the uninformed, the demagogues, and the self-seekers.

A Look Ahead. We shall have much more to say about the issues raised in this chapter as we proceed. For example, the next two chapters will relate the discussion to the problem of individual security. Chapters 10 and 12 will deal with some of the ideas we have met here but with more stress on the dangers involved in big government, especially militarized government, and on the services performed by administrative agencies. There is not a chapter of the book, however, that will not throw light on this one or on which you will not be helped by having discussed this one. Reserve final judgment, avoid dogmatism, read, think and you will be amply repaid for the effort.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. Can you think of any form of industry which might develop as fast during the next twenty years as automobiles and radio developed during the past twenty years?
2. Look up the summary of the patent laws of the United States in the *World Almanac*. What changes in patent law do you find discussed in the various references at the end of this chapter?
3. Should an invention ever be kept secret?
4. What are the principal arguments for and against federal incorporation of all private corporate concerns?
5. Collect several editorials and magazine articles relating to government regulation of private corporations. Which articles favor more regulation; which favor less; which ones

- merely discuss the problems without expressing an opinion?
- 6 Select one newspaper or magazine article which you think is obscure because of "word trouble" Is the writer vague and ambiguous in his use of terms? Is he trying to confuse the reader?
 - 7 Select an article or editorial, relating to some phase of this problem, which seems to you to be faulty in logic.
 - 8 What is the error in logic in the assertion, "I believe in the rule of law, not in government bureaucracy"?
 - 9 In what sense are the "independent commissions" of the federal government independent?
 - 10 Someone has said that the laissez-faire idea is that we should plan carefully to avoid planning Comment
 - 11 Consult the references to find out what part international cartels played in the preparatory stages of the Second World War
 - 12 In what ways do you think the author of this chapter reveals bias and prejudice? Make a note of the points and see whether the same prejudices appear in other chapters

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Photograph from General Motors Folks

CONTINUOUS EMPLOYMENT

The first essential for the worker is to have a job

CHAPTER 6

CONTINUOUS AND UNIVERSAL EMPLOYMENT: BULWARK OF STABILITY

- I. WORK: PAST AND PRESENT
 - 1. Why Work?
 - 2. Systems of Employment
 - 3. Varieties of Work and Its Organization
 - II. EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT
 - 1. Importance of Steady Employment
 - 2. Fluctuations of Employment
 - 3. Seasonal Changes
 - 4. Cyclical Changes
 - 5. Changes in Technology
 - 6. Unemployment and the Wage Earner
 - III. THE URGENCY OF THE PROBLEM
 - 1. How Far Shall Changes Go?
 - 2. Sixty Million Workers
 - 3. Some Lessons from Experience
 - IV. SOME PROPOSED CHANGES
 - 1. Enforced Minimum Standards
 - 2. Government Control of Monopoly
 - 3. Labor Organization
 - 4. Voluntary Cooperation of Management and Labor
 - 5. Cooperative Efforts of Management and Government
 - 6. Proposed Doctrinal Programs
 - 7. Bear in Mind
 - V. SOME INTERNATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS
 - 1. Economic International Trends
 - 2. Labor and the International Movement
 - 3. War and Unemployment
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Three centuries ago when men and women undertook the long journey from Europe to America they hoped for freedom. To some this hope meant freedom from tyranny over beliefs and actions. Others, with no wealth of their own, longed for a stake in the land or a little business. They looked forward with hope to a new world where oppression and poverty would give way to freedom and opportunity.

Today there is a vastly different America. Its cities, factories, and farms support the richest nation of the world. Discoveries and scientific inventions have linked its people closely together. Great aggregations of wealth under control of a limited number of giant corporations produce such quantities of goods as our forefathers could not have foreseen in their most fanciful dreams. The little sailing vessels that brought them on the long, slow journey to our shores are all but forgotten. In their place are huge steamships and giant planes which cross the ocean in a few days or even hours. Surely, with such marvels of productive power, such control over the forces and resources of nature, each one of our millions is assured of that freedom from the danger of oppression which his ancestors feared! Surely each breadwinner has a chance to make a home for his family where life and property are safe, and hope no longer only a dream.

To such assertions we must reply, "Not yet!" Power is here. Wealth is here. Knowledge, discovery, invention are here. But for millions of the working population years of employment are succeeded by years of unemployment, years of plenty are still followed by years of want. Though we have so nearly mastered famine, contagious disease, and other ills that beset our forefathers that we no longer fear them greatly, we are endangered by other threats equally vast and far more complex. Notwithstanding our scientific progress, our economic order remains fickle, unstable, and subject to changes which we seem unable to control. Risk and un-

certainly are part of the very nature of our system of producing and distributing goods for profit.

Today, more keenly than ever before, we are aware of the contrasting elements in our economy. We have recently passed through a period of war exertion which developed marvels of production. The fascist nations were literally smothered by the productive power of factories. Yet the triumph of arms and industrial might has brought only renewed fears—poignant and universal dread. Has the false prosperity of war aroused futile hopes for the future? Shall we now return to the uncertainties of the 1930's? With Europe and Asia prostrate, who will buy the products of our factories? How can we continue to employ constructively the millions who once gave their energies to destruction with such *conspicuous success*? *Harsh questions these, but they are on all lips.* That there must be jobs for all is universally agreed, but how to provide them is a subject of equally general disagreement. We cannot believe that we are masters at destruction, incompetent at construction. Yet where there was unity yesterday, there is disunity today.

In this chapter we shall give our attention briefly to certain problems of industrial stability and individual security. How stable are the relations between the employer, the wage earner, the job, and the product? What are the causes of instability? How secure is the wage earner in an unstable economic order? How is he affected by the ups and downs of production, the changes in the volume of products, the timidity, partisanship, or brash ignorance of those who purport to lead him? What means of stabilizing the economic order and thus adding to the worker's security have been proposed?

"Stability" and "security" are but two different words applied to the same problem. Or to put it differently, they are two different viewpoints of the problem. When we speak of stability we are thinking of the economic system as a whole,

impersonally. When we speak of security we are thinking in personal terms, with our eyes on the men and women who make up the wage-earning population of the nation.

The term "wage earner" we shall use to apply to workers employed on a wage agreement who have no ownership or control of shop, factory, tools, machines, or final product. As we noted in Chapter 3, this group includes a large and increasing percentage of the population of the United States, as of all industrial nations.

Bear in mind that the stability and security of which we speak are not absolutes. Like freedom, they are matters of degree. Our problem becomes one then of examining the various proposals that have been made in the belief that they will bring about greater stability and increased security.

Work: Past and Present

Why Work? Work is a means of expending energy purposefully to satisfy the needs of living. The needs of food, clothing, and shelter come first, but there are other needs which call for work, for "man does not live by bread alone." He asks also for such things as education, social recognition, greater knowledge. And, wisely or unwisely, he seeks to possess and to wield power.

Moreover, in thinking of man as a worker, we should not assume that work is alien to all the tendencies of inborn nature. Though man has always worked, lives by it, and enjoys it, he is apt to think that his happiness depends on avoiding it. Yet in his nature man is primarily an active, creative animal. He is born to do things, to be active and to wish for activity. Work is activity, and is thus in part a response to an inner demand, to deep-seated urges and interests born in us. Refusal to work is in reality a denial of this inborn, active, creative element in human nature. As a

consequence, unwillingness to work does not open the way to a satisfied life.

To be sure, many kinds of work are fraught with risk: they are exhausting, dangerous, leading to accidents or sickness. They often are poorly paid, or performed under harsh conditions and brutal taskmasters. Too often workers are denied freedom of choice in the kinds of work they do. These are objections to particular aspects or kinds of work, but they do not justify the idea that work itself is an evil to be avoided or that release from work is a blessing.

The real problem presented to everyone is, therefore, not how to avoid work, but how to find the right kind of work, the work for which he is suited and the work in which also the conditions are fit and reasonable. This is the individual side of the problem. There is also the social side, which is to make the conditions and organization of all kinds of work such that they may be the basis for a healthy, satisfying life. Much of the effort of workers and of all who are interested in work as a system of life has had the purpose of making the conditions and relations involved in work suitable, steady, just, and stimulating. These are goals to be struggled for. What prevents their being reached?

Systems of Employment. Three systems of employment are familiar to us. They are (1) slavery or forced employment, (2) self-employment, and (3) employment for wages, usually by managers representing private capital or by the State as an employer.

In the simplest system of work each worker is his own manager. This is self-employment, and there are many men today who find any other way of work irritating and unsatisfactory. Self-employment as a system is steadily decreasing in the western world, however. Small farmers and small businessmen, as well as many professional men engage in self-employment. But farm laborers are increasing in num-

bers in comparison with farm owners and managers. Small businessmen are giving way to large industrial plants, stores, or chains. Even the professions are moving away from self-employment. Clinics of many doctors and law firms with a number of partners are more and more common.

Another employment method, as we have noted, is forced labor or slavery. It prevailed in most parts of the world at some time and still exists in backward regions of the earth. It has been associated mainly with an agricultural type of society, though not exclusively so. With the growth of commerce, and especially since the appearance of machine industry, slavery has tended to disappear. Nevertheless, war recently revived it in Europe and the Far East in cruel forms.

Today the main type of employment is the third. Men work for wages paid by others, usually industrial or business managers. Machine production as the basis of large-scale industry has led to mass employment. Increasingly workers are employed in large bodies. Of course, many workers were employed by others before machine industry developed, as slavery and serfdom gave way to wage payments. They worked in shops, stores, and on farms. But in the main it is machine production which brought about mass employment for wages. The United States Steel Corporation, for example, reports that in 1943 its employees numbered 340,496. The average number of employees of the General Motors Corporation in the first six months of 1944 was 484,706. The Census of 1940 reports 397,537 wage earners employed in motor-vehicle manufacture, and the manufacture of cotton woven goods employed 312,249 wage earners at that time. Though American wage earners are by no means all employed by giant concerns, a large and increasing number now work in establishments which employ scores, hundreds, or thousands of persons. It is this group about which we are especially concerned in this chapter.

In this country in 1942 there were more than 53 million workers, less than ten million of them being self-employed. The remaining forty-odd millions were employed by manager-employers. Such workers hold jobs and are paid wages. They do not own the factory or store or office or farm where they work; in most cases they do not own even their tools. They are, therefore, not self-employed but "other-employed." This is why a job for a wage is so important today, for we live by and with our jobs.

Varieties of Work and Its Organization. Just as there is more than one system of employment, so there are many kinds of work. The tendency to break up work into specialties began very early in history. Primitive man had his tool-makers, weapon makers, basket weavers, pottery makers, and others. As settled life developed in many areas, the tendency to specialization of work gained rapidly.

However, it is modern technical machine civilization that brought this tendency to its peak. Today there are thousands of kinds of work, each of which is part of some larger process of production. The Census of 1940 lists more than 2500 varieties of production other than agriculture. Each worker's part of the object under construction fits with the product of many other workers. Only through interrelation of the efforts of a vast variety of specialized workers does an entire object—an automobile, a gun, a refrigerator, a suit of clothes—become a reality.

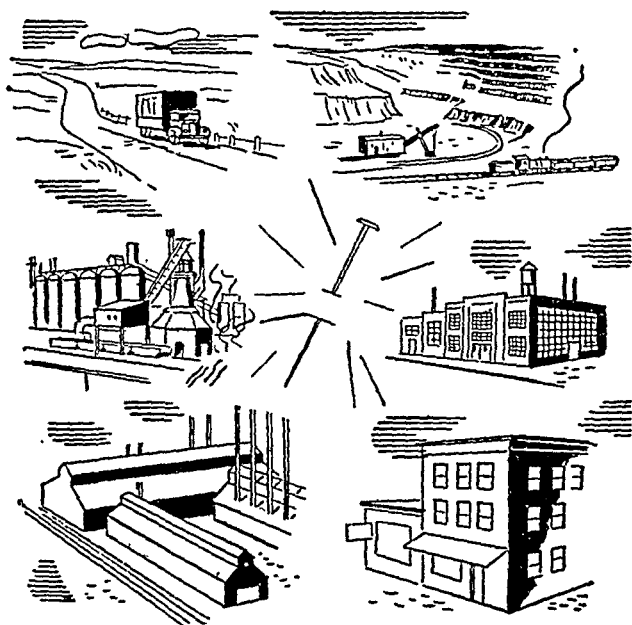
Let us examine more carefully this production process. Start with the term *specialization*. When men worked with hand tools, a specialty was the expression of a particular individual form of skill. It implied that the maker used skill which others did not have. His skill was the result of confining his attention and effort to a special phase of the process of production. Such skill led to specialization; specialization to increased production.

In modern machine production there are many highly skilled workers. They are specialists with skilled minds quite as much as with skilled hands. Machinery has not decreased specialization, it has greatly increased it, though it has driven out of action many hand skills. A machine does an exact piece of work, which is just what the skilled hand worker of an earlier day did. As a consequence, a machine is itself a specialist, doing a single operation exactly and much more rapidly and tirelessly than a hand worker. Machines are constantly being invented to do the work of a simple kind of specialization. This does not mean that individual skill is a thing of the past. Many thousand skilled operators, mechanics, technicians, and engineers are required by modern industry. But it does mean that many jobs which were formerly carried on by skilled craftsmen are now done by machines. It means, too, that machine processes have pushed specialization to more extreme lengths than ever before. Today identical knives, watches, plows, household gadgets, and automobiles are turned out by the million.

This brings us to two other terms which we should think about if we are to understand modern industrial organization as it affects workers, namely, *organization* and *interdependence*. Machine production involves making many parts of completed articles separately. The hundreds of parts—nuts, bolts, bearings, springs, etc.—must be put together to make the completed article. All this requires highly complex organization. It also means that workmen are dependent on each other, i.e., interdependent. In a real sense, we work constantly to please one another. One careless workman in shop or factory may delay scores of his fellows.

Organization and interdependence also exist in a wider sense. Once articles are made, we must organize to transport them, sell them, and finance payment for them by merchants and consumers. So a network of organization, national and

international in extent and involving the efforts of many kinds of workers, is developed. Each one of these workers is dependent on the others. For instance, the man who makes or installs electrical equipment relies on many other special-



Courtesy of National Association of Manufacturers

ALL FOR A PIN

Each worker's contribution to the object under construction fits with the contribution of many other workers.

ized workers, connected by an invisible network of organization, to clothe and feed him.

Whole regions of the world are now devoted in some measure to specialized activity. One region of the United States raises chiefly corn, another cotton. Rubber, hemp, quinine, and other articles are brought from areas adapted to their production. Industrial areas specialize, as Detroit has on automobiles. Banks, markets, transportation systems, and

communication agencies are swept into the network of organization which holds this huge, delicately balanced structure together

When specialization, organization, and interdependence are thought of in this way, they take on new and vaster meaning

The importance of all this from the standpoint of today's wage earner is apparent. He is part of a far-flung mechanism of producing and distributing goods of which he has little understanding and no control. His conditions of employment rest in many hands besides his own. It is clear, therefore, why it is of such great importance that we try to understand the influences which promote hard times and unemployment. To the extent that we can understand and control such influences, we can stabilize our economic order and add to the security of every individual

Employment and Unemployment

The employment which the individual workman secures may be for a day, a week, a year, or for an indefinite time, perhaps a lifetime. Which it shall be usually depends hardly at all upon the worker. Much more often it is a condition belonging to the job itself. Moreover, the employment may be for good wages or poor, for a long workday and long workweek or for shorter ones. It may be carried on under safe, clean, healthful conditions or the contrary. It may or may not be directed by a just and reasonable management.

Importance of Steady Employment Whatever the working conditions, the first essential for the worker is to have a job. For each worker the permanence or certainty of his job is of first importance. Can he count on it? Can he know that throughout the days and the years his employment is secure, so he can live with it and grow by means of it?

Yet, in spite of its importance, stability of employment is not the usual fact at the present time. The outstanding characteristic of employment in the modern world is its fluctuation and therefore its uncertainty. Instead of stability of work, there is great instability.

Fluctuations of Employment. Why does employment fluctuate? Leave aside entirely the characteristics of workers: some are willing, others unwilling; some competent, others incompetent. This is true under every system of work, but these personal differences do not explain vast labor fluctuations. In 1930 industrial unemployment in the United States was estimated at $3\frac{1}{4}$ million. Less than a year later the number unemployed in 19 American cities alone reached $6\frac{1}{3}$ million. In 1933 the total of unemployed in the nation was about 13 million. In June, 1940, there were in the United States 8,600,000 unemployed: but in 1942 there were only 2,800,000—a drop of 67 percent.

Such great changes in employment are a phase of modern industry and are not due to individual traits. From the worker's point of view they are its most serious phase. This is his situation:

He must work to live.

He must have a job if he is to work.

Without regard to how well he works he can never count upon the permanence of the job.

What, then, explains this insecurity in employment? Three causes are cited usually as of greatest importance. They all express the changing nature of modern industry. They are:

Seasonal Changes

Cyclical Changes

Technological Changes

Let us examine each of these phrases to see what they mean.

Seasonal Changes Least important in its effects are the changes in the demand for labor which accompany changes of the seasons. Yet a vast amount of unemployment, following short periods of temporary work, is the result of such changes. This is easily observed in agriculture where the harvest seasons call for extra workers and are followed by periods of reduced demand. Wheat harvests, fruit harvests, cotton picking illustrate this periodic employment.

Examples are also to be found in urban industry. For instance, the demand for clothing changes between summer and winter, with the result that many workers in woolen mills are discharged after the demand for winter cloth drops. Several years ago Dr. Jacob Billikopf stated that workers in the clothing industries in New York did not average more than 32 weeks employment per year.¹ The building trades are also seasonal in their requirements for workers. Other examples will occur to the reader.

Cyclical Changes Of much greater consequence are the series of changes brought about by what is termed the "business cycle." If you have ridden on a Ferris wheel you can picture what this cycle is like. Let the top of the moving wheel represent the peak of production, the outlook there is marvelous. Let the bottom represent the depth of business depression. Business is shut down, men are out of work, and distress and misery are everywhere. The wheel moves continuously. Going up is exhilarating, but coming down makes one gasp. Think of this wheel in understanding the business cycle and its effect on unemployment.

Under the system of business organization commonly described as the system of free enterprise, goods are produced under private management for sale in open market for a profit. "Free enterprise" is a term which, in origin, meant

¹*The Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science* March 1931

simply that business undertakings were free from interference or control by government rules and regulations. It is equivalent to the similar French expression *laissez faire*. "Production of goods for an open market" means that goods are produced, not for the use of the producer, but for an indefinite and hoped-for sale at a price which will yield a profit over costs to the producer. The successful producer under perfectly working free enterprise would be the one who accurately calculates the size of the market or the "demand."

By the "demand" for products is meant, not the need for them, but the amount which consumers are prepared to pay for in the market. Moreover, the "market" of which the free enterpriser speaks does not refer to some particular place where goods are displayed for sale, but refers to the price-fixing system by which one product is exchanged for others.

The theory of the system of free enterprise has long held that the possession of resources and inventions constitutes an incentive to produce as much as possible, since large production tends to lower costs. The cost of producing an automobile is less if it be one of a hundred thousand than if one of twenty-five.

But since the advent of power machinery and mass production a new situation has appeared. Producers can now readily produce more than purchasers are prepared to buy, thus leaving a surplus to be disposed of. In this case the tendency has been for industry to produce heavily while the demand is active, but to follow this active period by a slowing down of production till the surplus is again demanded. Thus there is a high point of production followed by a low point and then a return to a new high point. Instead of a regular and calculable volume of products and a stable market there is a changeable and uncertain volume of goods and an unstable market.

Interpreting this production cycle from the viewpoint of wage earners, it means that employment is not steady and uninterrupted, but that periods of high employment are followed by layoffs or dismissal for large numbers. Because of the productive power of machinery, production tends to pass beyond demand. Factories then reduce the number of their workmen until the surplus stocks are used up. Meantime the unemployed worker walks the streets. This is the cycle of prosperity and depression, with the worker caught in the movement.

Thus production in excess of market demand is a phase of the unregulated free enterprise system, and it is world-wide, at least in so far as the use of power machinery is world-wide. Later in the chapter we shall need to refer again to this problem.

Seasonal changes in employment, as we have seen, occur according to the movement of the seasons. Cyclical unemployment is a consequence of the difficulty of regulating production for profit to an uncertain demand. The third condition which leads to unemployment is the result of the frequent changes in methods of production brought about by inventions.

Changes in Technology New ways of making things are continually displacing old ways. Hand tools served mankind for thousands of years. But when primitive man devised a wooden wheel, he had started on the road that would lead eventually to the making of metal wheels which would set other wheels in motion and thus become the basis of modern machinery. The story of the passage from crude hand tools to power-driven machines is an enthralling one. Today we live in the age in which machine follows machine, with steadily increasing productive power.

Knowledge and invention have put into our hands steam and electric power, while chemistry has given us new under-

standing and control of materials. For example, steel displaces crude iron; then the tough, light metals displace steel where weight must be overcome, as in airplane manufacture.

All of this application of scientific knowledge to the making of things is described as *technology*. Ours is a technical, machine-using civilization.

But machine technology has become a cause of mass unemployment. To understand how this can be, we must note two somewhat contradictory aspects of the use of invention. First, some inventions—the typewriter is a good example—increase employment. Indeed, the typewriter, the automobile, and some other articles have been the basis of entire new fields of employment. Second, many inventions displace workers, as, for example, the radio and the phonograph, which have driven many musicians out of employment. Most often displacement of workers follows a multitude of small inventions which improve existing manufacturing processes by substituting machines for a certain number of laborers.

New inventions appear very frequently as knowledge increases. There is, therefore, a continuous stream of workers leaving old machines which they have learned how to manage, while other but fewer men (usually younger) are employed to handle the new machines which have displaced the old ones.

More machines, more goods, less cost, and fewer laborers, or less steady employment. Let us take a concrete example. There are three kinds of production, from the point of view of why it is undertaken. In eighteenth-century New England a farmer often made the shoes to be used by his family. This was production for family use and need. At the same period a shoemaker in a town made shoes as they were ordered by a customer. He measured the customer's feet and made the shoes to fit the pattern drawn. The price was agreed upon beforehand. In this case, too, the demand for the

article made was definite and known, there could be no surplus of production

Today, however, a third system has done away with both these older forms of production for use. A modern shoe factory contains a great variety of machines. Each part of the manufacturing process—making the pattern, preparing the leather, cutting and sewing the uppers, the soles, the heels—is a specialized piece of work. Shoes are manufactured by hundreds of thousands, and not for a known number of customers, but for an indefinite market demand. The number of shoes that can be sold depends upon many factors, among them being the number and size of competing factories, the inventions which cut the cost or improve the product, the price, the wages paid wage earners, the cost of materials, and the capacity of the public to buy. We see here much of the uncertainty and indefiniteness characteristic of unregulated “free” business enterprise. If more shoes are made than can be sold at a profit, the factory may either discharge part of its workers and produce less, or it may shut down altogether.

A third alternative is often used, however. This factory may unite with other factories in an agreement as to how many shoes each will manufacture, and they may succeed in getting other important competitors to share in the agreement. Among them, all patent processes are owned or controlled. Total shoe production is then curtailed, a price is fixed which yields them a profit, and fewer workers are employed. All such price-fixing agreements are monopolistic in character. Such production is clearly not “free enterprise” in any sense. The market is as completely controlled as it would be if the government fixed the price of shoes, or even manufactured them.²

Unemployment and the Wage Earner Let us return now

²See Chapter 5



photograph by Rodney McCay Morgan

EMPLOYMENT AND THE WAGE EARNER

Can the worker be sure that the home around which center many of his ambitions is secure through steady employment?

to a final view of unemployment as it affects the wage earner. Workers fear unemployment as they fear nothing else, and fear is not a good foundation for a well-adjusted, creative life. What then are the worker's wants and hopes which are threatened by instability of employment? Two types of wants appear evident. First, there are the material wants which all consumers share: food, clothing, shelter, health. To satisfy these wants a job for wages is necessary.

There are other wants, too, less clearly defined or acknowledged by the public. These wants the workers hope to satisfy not merely as consumers but as men and women in a human world. These hopes and aims, which unemployment undermines as certainly as it does the ability to secure food, belong to the mind rather than to the body. They are a mental consequence of the fact that we live together, and therefore reflect the consciousness of how we are thought of by others. In a world that values education, workers want education for themselves and their children. They want freedom to choose their jobs and their way of life. Especially do they want to find work in which they can feel an interest and can "grow."

The vast majority of workers would like, also, to feel conscious of sharing in a common productive enterprise, working with others. Few persons enjoy doing isolated tasks upon command. They want to be recognized by others, to be considered as "counting for something." Finally, they would like to share as consumers those products of modern technology which bring comfort and enjoyment, and which mark one's social standing in the community.

In an industrial world dominated by machine methods few workers can be self-employed. Therefore, wage employment is essential to life and to stability in industry and is one of the most vital of all human problems. Uncertainty is the foundation of fear. It is not only the threat of semistarvation,

sickness, and family misery that counts. Discontent, humiliation, shattered pride and hopes are equally significant and depressing. It should be remembered that the revolutionary movements of Nazi Germany were based largely upon mass unemployment and its humiliations. The Nazi leaders made promises of steady work and new economic opportunities to be created by war industries. They promised, also, social recognition, a place among men, and an opportunity to satisfy ambition.

The Urgency of the Problem

How Far Shall Changes Go? The economic system which we have described and discussed in this chapter and the preceding one is usually referred to as *capitalism*. The word "capital" refers to goods made by man which are used in further production. Examples are tools, machines, and factory buildings. We distinguish capital goods from consumption goods, such as food or clothing, which are used by consumers. When we say that ours is a system of capitalism, we mean that the instruments of production (capital goods) are assembled and that industry is organized and operated by private enterprise rather than by the government. It is this system of capitalism which is characterized by machine production, organization, specialization, and the other features which we have described. The motive of private industry is profit.

Since the problems of operating this system are so evident, the question often arises as to why we do not change it. Usually proposals for change take the direction of reform of our present order. There are some proposals which go so far, however, as to suggest that we abandon capitalism in favor of some other method of controlling industrial production. The proposed alternatives are usually some form

of government operation. Before we proceed let us note why such extreme proposals are not greatly favored.

First, abandoning the present system would be a gigantic task and utterly uncertain in its outcome. It would be revolutionary not only in regard to details of industry but to the entire complicated mass of understandings, agreements, and legal contracts now in existence. Furthermore, so complete a change runs contrary to our traditions of individual rights and responsibilities. We have seen how powerful traditional ideas are in governing behavior, and so violent a proposal for change would introduce problems which simply stagger the imagination.

In the second place, private enterprise as a system has led, or been assumed to lead, to stimulation of initiative and vigorous inventive activity from which so much of industrial advancement has grown. It is true that this free initiative is apt to be ruthless of the welfare of others. It is probably true, also, as we saw in Chapter 5, that the immense size of modern industry as a system seriously limits the possibilities for individual initiative because of monopoly control by large corporations. Yet the advantages of freedom in industrial undertakings have been so great, even with these limitations, that there is strong ground for its continuance. Even Communist Russia has found it necessary to return partially to the capitalist system.

Regardless of what anyone may think of capitalism, we cannot escape recognition of the fact that modern machinery and scientific technology have given man so great a power to produce that all the basic human wants could readily be satisfied—food, clothing, housing, medical care, and education. It is not because we are unable to produce enough that people suffer, but because people cannot buy what can be produced. In our economic system food is something to be sold for a profit, it is not primarily something to be eaten by the

hungry. And the same principle applies to other goods. But the unemployed cannot buy. Loss of their purchasing power affects industry, slowing down production and leading to the dismissal of more workers. We have seen how the trouble is self-aggravating and leads to breadlines and general want in the midst of plenty.

All of these considerations have led many thoughtful persons to conclude that far-reaching steps to stabilize industry and employment must be taken. The practical problem which faces us is, how can the technical power to produce and distribute goods be so fully used that all may satisfy their vital needs? If it be asked, "How far shall we go?" the answer is "Far enough to accomplish the end."

Sixty Million Workers. The urgency of this problem is indicated by the statement, frequently made, that we must be able to find employment for approximately 60 million workers in the United States in the very immediate future. During the 1930's our working population was but little more than half that number, yet there were times when 12 to 15 million people were out of work. The working force of the nation grew steadily until it had reached about 53 million before the end of the Second World War. As population increases the number to be employed expands.

Some Lessons from Experience. The people of the United States do not face this vast problem without warning. We recall that there was a general slump of farming and business activity a few years after the First World War. This was followed by the longest and most disastrous depression in history. We had not recovered fully from this disaster when the Second World War began. But the long period of fighting depression and unemployment taught us some lessons which we shall doubtless bear in mind in the future.

First, we learned that what hurts one hurts all. No one can escape the effects of depression and unemployment

whether he be financier, farmer, factory worker, clerk, professional man, or unskilled laborer. Second, we learned that the only way to start production and revive employment is by increasing the purchasing power of the masses of men. Ordinary folks, poor folks, spend all their money, most of it for necessities. Their purchases create demand for the goods of farms and factories. Third, we learned something of our power as an organized, democratic people. We can borrow and tax through the government and spend the money on projects that create employment and purchasing power. Though some of the public-works spending thus carried on during the 1930's was justly condemned by some people as wasteful, there are many necessary and desirable expenditures which can be made to improve power development, housing, farming, roads, schools, and public health and welfare. Whatever differences of opinion may arise as to exactly what to do, it is probable that the American people will continue some measure of public spending as a means of trying to avoid cyclical depression.³ Fourth, we learned that our economic system is not self-regulating, has never been, and never will be. Such reflection puts a premium on informed and thoughtful leadership and equally informed and critical followership. If adjustments and experiments must be made, the people must be informed, for their chief means of control lies in the selection of qualified and public-spirited leaders.

Experience has taught us to expect that there will be heated and confusing debate about various proposals. There are persons sufficiently selfish to prefer to cling to what they regard as temporary advantage and risk long-run disaster. There are sincere persons who are so confused by words and slogans that they cannot study the problems

³In fact, as we saw in Chapter 5 many leaders of business who opposed this policy tooth and nail several years ago now insist that it is desirable.

involved in a thoughtful manner. We may expect name-calling, generalities, and logical errors in discussions and in propaganda. But there are also many people who will be able to see through much of the confusion and think clearly and consistently about the problems involved.

Some Proposed Changes

Enforced Minimum Standards. It is proposed by many people that a series of minimum standards for the wage earner's welfare must be established by law. These must be met, they declare, as a first requirement of employing concerns and society as a whole. Minimum life-necessities of labor would become a first charge upon all production. Standards in mind are adequate food, clothing, housing, medical care, and education. We already provide free schools. Can we find a way to guard the other needs without destroying private enterprise? In a recent year more than 6 million children in the United States were being given free lunches at school. Decent housing is more and more recognized as a necessity for wholesome family life regardless of family income, and a beginning has been made by federal law toward satisfying this need. A similar belief prevails widely in regard to medical and hospital care. These suggestions we shall consider more fully in the following chapter.

Government Control of Monopoly. A second proposed modification of the present business system grows out of the increasing domination of industry by monopolies. The aim of monopolies is to control the production of particular articles, such as tin, rubber, and oil, so that they will be produced only in the amounts which yield the most profit for the companies producing and selling them. Ordinarily competition drives production forward, while monopoly limits it. In doing so it weakens personal initiative and lessens the

benefits which modern technology could provide. The power of monopolies over life and welfare seems to many to demand much more rigid public control. Transportation systems, the telegraph and telephone, and large basic resources and industries such as oil, electric power, steel, and rubber are examples of kinds of production which are monopolistic or tend toward monopoly.

The arguments for and against proposals to control corporations for the public interest we reviewed in Chapter 5. Those who believe such changes would help to avert unemployment contend that a living wage for workers and low-priced articles for the public should be required of all industry before profits are taken. Thus purchasing power would be sustained and economic depression avoided. Continuation of monopoly trends, they argue, will make the rich richer and the poor poorer until our economic machinery breaks down completely.

Labor Organization. A third remedial movement is the result of the weak position of the individual laborer in the machine production system. Though our political system is democratic in framework, industrial organization has not become democratic. If the worker is to do his part in production and be protected from uncertainty of work, it is believed that his main reliance must be upon collective bargaining. By this means labor has hoped to gain power to make terms with management. The history of the labor movement for a hundred years is a record of the struggle of laborers to understand how the industrial system affects their welfare and how organized effort might give them a degree of hoped-for balance of power.

It is not necessary here to relate the history of the labor organization movement and its growth. The forms which labor unionism has taken are the result of trial and experiment. For many years such organizations had against them

the weight of traditional ideas handed down from hand-tool economy and also types of legislation which gave all the advantage in bargaining to the employer as against the employee. Many of these earlier difficulties have been overcome and public opinion has become more friendly to collective bargaining and to laws recognizing the right and need of union organization.

The main systems of labor union in America today are the American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.), the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.), the United Mine Workers, and the Railroad Brotherhoods. In 1943 more than 12,000,000 laborers were members of some union. Increase in the size and importance of labor organizations has tended to parallel the trend toward the centralization of industrial management which we described in Chapter 5.

Organized labor makes three principal forms of attack upon the problems of employment and the welfare of wage earners generally. (1) By collective bargaining unions secure better wages and working conditions. (2) Through propaganda unions seek to inform the public about their purposes and to enlist sympathy for their undertakings. (3) By influencing legislation unions attempt to gain legal recognition and guarantees of certain minimum standards of welfare for the working population as a whole.

Unions have now attained a recognized position under the law by Supreme Court decisions upholding the National Labor Relations Act and other labor legislation. That labor-management cooperation is gaining is indicated by the increasing number of union contracts made by industries, by the operation of joint management and labor committees in many factories, and by the increasing number of industrial disputes which are settled without resort to strikes.

In Great Britain the labor movement has entered politics in the form of a national party. On the contrary, in the

United States labor unions have not formed a separate political party, but have followed the policy of supporting candidates who favor legislation which the unions advocate. At various times labor has exercised strong influence in national politics. A notable recent instance is the activity of the CIO Political Action Committee, which has aroused pronounced approval or disapproval among many people, according to their respective interests and prejudices.

Unemployment can be prevented, labor leaders claim, but it cannot be prevented in an industrial oligarchy where organized workmen are regarded as outlaws and there are no checks upon the power of industrial management. Fortunately, industrial and political leaders and the general public are recognizing the reasonable nature of this view. Let labor, management, the public, and government assume their full measure of responsibility for cooperation, they say, and violent industrial strife will probably disappear. Ours is a common danger and must be met as such.

Voluntary Cooperation of Management and Labor The tendency of this opinion to prevail has led to increase in the amount of voluntary management-labor cooperation. The joint shop committees mentioned above numbered several hundred during the Second World War. A few employers have voluntarily accepted the suggestion of a "dismissal wage", that is, payment of a sum to the workman to aid in his support while hunting a job. Some progress has also been made in retraining displaced workers and in shifting workmen about until the jobs are found where they are most useful and efficient. These are steps toward recognizing the idea that industrial management must take some responsibility for the worker who is in danger of losing his job through no fault of his own. Some labor leaders have long argued that the payment of a "yearly wage" would reduce strife by making workmen feel more secure.

Cooperative Efforts of Management and Government.

The importance to all the people that there should be as large production as possible, especially in the basic industries, has led many to advocate that government subsidies to industries might be used to prevent periodic shutdowns and unemployment. Shutdowns are harmful to management and labor and to the public, while steady and continuous production and employment in large industries keeps many other industries going also. All industries are so closely interrelated that full employment in one yields a steady stream of demand for the goods produced in others.

Those who make this proposal suggest a program somewhat as follows. First, industry should be encouraged to continue full production by means of subsidies or whatever aids are needed. In time of war this method is widely used. Our government has built factories, set prices which guarantee a reasonable profit, and paid subsidies to bring a profit to the producer. If measures such as these are necessary in a war economy, it is argued, they may well prove advantageous in peacetime.

In the second place, they urge a planned system of public works carried out by both federal and state governments. This would give employment to labor if private employment fails. It would consist primarily of the development of natural resources and large-scale undertakings too costly to appeal to private business. Reclamation projects, development of inland waterways and power systems, a great enlargement of the national highway system, and a program of public housing are items in this plan.

As a third step in this proposal, its sponsors advocate an expanded program of insurance to labor of the basic essentials to life. This feature of the plan is dealt with more fully in the following chapter.

Let us look at both sides of this debatable proposition.

Those who oppose governmental aid or regulation for industry recognize the advantage to labor of continuous production, but fear that if government goes far in this program it will not be long before government agencies take complete control of industry. This, they assert, will tend to stifle initiative and scientific advancement in technology under the weight of bureaucratic organization. The final result of such a policy will be governmental tyranny and the overthrow of democratic rule.

On the other hand, those who favor the cooperation of government with private industry assert that large-scale or mass production has itself already destroyed the freedom of the man who attempts to set up an independent business. Monopoly control of prices based on ownership of natural resources or upon patents or trade agreements, as well as the advantages of mass production and other features of business organization, amounts to as complete a concentration of economic power as would result if government directly operated all major industries. Against this power free enterprise is a name only. As a consequence, it seems obvious to such reasoners that the only safety for labor and also small business undertakings lies in greater use of governmental authority in their behalf. They argue that reform of the patent laws which now encourage monopoly, stringent control by government of natural resources such as oil and electric power, the removal of unnecessary aids to business which become special privileges, such as protective tariffs, are first steps toward freer market conditions. They believe that there is no slightest likelihood that government will take over the management of industry. Even if it were to do so, they add, we should be no worse off under governmental dictation than we are under the dictation of private centralized monopoly and mass production.

Proposed Doctrinal Programs In contrast to methods

which call for voluntary action by employers or employees, whether aided by government or not, we must note the tendency in other parts of the world to adopt more revolutionary methods of keeping men employed. We need mention only two.

First, a nation may engage in war as a business undertaking. War employs millions of potential workers in military activity and compels business and labor to devote their efforts largely to production of military supplies. Large numbers of men are withdrawn from civil occupations and the major part of production becomes production of things to be quickly destroyed. The entire economy of the nation is completely controlled by government in the interest of victory over its enemies. Civilian business enterprises accept government direction. The result is, on the one hand, a heavy demand for laborers, ending unemployment, and on the other, an approach to "state capitalism"—the ownership or control of all capital goods and industries by the government. This is the method used by the Nazi and Fascist governments of Europe.

A second method of ending unemployment is seen in the government taking over directly the management of all production, thus eliminating private profit as well as private enterprise. This is, theoretically, the program of Communism, though actually in Russia, after the first years of the revolution, the government found it wise to permit some regulated business profit.

Neither of these methods appeals to Americans. We inherit and share ideas of individual freedom of thought and action in business, in so far as they do not lead to social harm.

Reference to Communism brings to mind the term Socialism. This term stands for a variety of proposals and takes many forms. All aim at a more equal distribution of wealth. They range all the way from moderate social reforms to

revolutionary reconstruction of society, but all reflect a disappointment that the increase of productive power due to machine development did not lift the burden of poverty from the laboring classes. The more moderate types of Socialism have asked for legislative reforms only. Many of these have been adopted from time to time in various nations of the world. They include such things as the right of all classes to vote, universal education, and protection of child workers. This was the general character of so-called Christian Socialism in England and Germany. Fabian Socialism in England also advocated a program of gradual reforms by law described as "social minimum standards." Out of this movement arose the English Labor Party, which advocates what it calls a program of minimum legislative reforms including better wages, shorter hours of work, education, and protection of women and child workers. Such types of Socialism ask only gradual and orderly legal modification of Capitalism.

A more radical movement arose in Germany under the leadership of Karl Marx in the middle of the last century. It demanded public or State ownership instead of private ownership of the means of production. It chose the name Socialism to distinguish it from the many uses of the word Communism then current. The Communists of that time were advocating various ways of equal sharing of all wealth. Marx's Socialism favored the seizure by violence of all means of production (not all wealth) which would then be operated under the socialist State. In the present century the revolutionary party in Russia adopted, with some modifications, the Marxian theories, but gave their program the name Communism.

There are still other forms of Socialism. Among them is Syndicalism, a French labor revolutionary movement, and Guild Socialism, an English theory of direct labor control of industry as opposed to State Socialism.

The reader should carefully distinguish between the State Socialism of Nazi Germany and that of the Communists. The former is a political theory of governmental use of all wealth for purposes of conquest and military aggrandizement by the State. It is not Socialism in reality, but State Capitalism. The socialism of the Communists, on the other hand, is a social-economic theory about the organization of industry so that all may share in its advantages. As a social system Communism points in theory toward a democratic organization; as administered at present in Russia it is a governmental dictatorship.

All forms of Socialism have one thing in common in that they are a criticism of the weaknesses and injustice of the Capitalist system with its private ownership of the means by which wealth is produced. It is becoming evident that the problem of how to produce enough goods to satisfy the basic need of all has been solved through power machinery. But the social problem of how to get these goods into the hands of consumers to use for satisfying their wants remains unsolved. Unemployment is one of the major conditions in this problem.

Bear in Mind. Those workers that we ordinarily think of as industrial wage earners are by no means the only group that will profit if we are able to keep unemployment at a low level in the years ahead. Probably one-third of American workers are normally employed at manufacturing and mechanical occupations. Agriculture employs another bloc of several million. But the tendency is for these two groups to employ a decreasing percentage of workers, though their total numbers increase from year to year, of course. It is probable that the fields named will employ scarcely one-half of all workers in the future. This means that the number of persons engaged in transportation, stores, banks, restaurants, hotels, offices, theaters, publishing, the professions,

and other "service" occupations will increase greatly in number and relative size

While large numbers of those engaged in some of these occupations are self-employed, there are many millions who are completely dependent on their wages. In general they are an unorganized group who do not think of their interests as being similar to those of industrial workers. Yet only a moment's reflection is necessary to see that whatever protects the working population in general and guards against depression and unemployment protects these workers too. It is true, also, that those who are self-employed can continue to sell their services only if the working population is prosperous. It is well for those who are planning to engage in self-employment to bear these facts in mind.

Some International Considerations

The serious business depression and widespread unemployment of the 1930's were not confined to the United States. Every industrialized country of the world shared the same experience. This fact suggests that not only is the world an interdependent unit in production, it is also united in the common misfortunes which industrial depression cause. The same causes are evidently at work wherever machine-made goods are produced for profit.

Moreover, many of the important industries of one nation are, or have been, owned by capitalists in other nations. It was by loans from British capitalists that the great railways of the United States were built after the Civil War. Similarly, French capital began the industrialization of Russia before the Communist Revolution there. More recently capital from the United States as well as from Britain has built factory after factory in Canada, Brazil and Mexico, while British capital has built the railways and cotton factories of India.

It is evident to everyone that the development of technical invention has weakened the significance of older boundary lines. Goods can readily be transported by land, sea, or air. Communication by telegraph and radio brings peoples together the world over. Even without a common, world-wide language, national differences tend to disappear in the great market places and centers of world activity.

"We have long recognized in theory," writes Lorwin, "that the economic well-being of the United States is inseparable from that of other nations; we have known that industrial depressions, if uncontrolled, swing across vast oceans and mountain boundaries, as well as across industries and sections of a single country. This war (the Second World War) is teaching us that the greatest danger to peace lurks in depressions and unemployment and that peace can be fostered neither by neglect nor by one nation alone."⁴

Economic International Trends. These illustrations point to the well-recognized fact that capital seeks profitable investment wherever it can find it, regardless of political boundary lines. For a century the wealth of English investors has been largely increased by interest on investments in every quarter of the world. The idea that each nation can depend upon its own production has been urged by many persons. But a program of national self-sufficiency can hardly be advanced as more than a very temporary measure. Every industrialized nation can and does produce more of many goods than it can consume. Only by selling in world markets can it prosper as a producer. But such countries cannot sell unless they will also buy, since all sales are exchanges of one thing for another. Tariffs which levy a high tax upon imports from other countries tend to defeat the sale of goods by the nation levying the tariff. Such interference with exchanges between nations leads to the slowing down of pro-

⁴L. L. Lorwin in *Survey Graphic*. May, 1943, p. 211.

duction and the spread of unemployment. Such was clearly the effect of the high tariff of the United States following the First World War.

It should be evident to the reader that if the investment of capital and the conduct of industry and trade are carried on with little attention to national boundaries, the characteristics of trade found within nations will also be found in international commerce. Business cycles, bringing depressions and unemployment, are world phenomena, therefore. So, too, are tendencies of mass industries to become monopolistic, reducing production rather than assuming risks. Agreements in regard to production, even the sharing of patents by business establishments in two or more countries, are tendencies of world business organization. This topic is discussed in Chapter 5.

Considering all aspects of this problem, the conclusion is beyond question that machine technique and its institutions make the world an economic unit. The time is at hand when an international banking system and a world monetary system will make this economic unity even more complete. It will be clear, however, that the world unity we are describing is a unity in the business system and organization, not in other phases of social life. International mass production creates the same kind of economic processes through which enormous power comes into the control of business management as in national mass production. But what is the result for labor and the vast consuming public? This question is being seriously discussed today.

Labor and the International Movement. We have seen that instability of business accompanied by uncertainty of employment and general personal insecurity are characteristic of modern industry. In view of this fact, labor has organized for its own protection, as we have already shown. Gradually thoughtful leaders have realized that, since simi-

lar conditions tend to prevail everywhere, an organization on a world-wide scale is needed to represent the unity of labor and its essential needs and aims. The idea is not new, but at the present time an effective nonpolitical organization is active in trying to bring together labor interests and movements on an international scale. This is the International Labor Office, which held its first session in 1919. Although independent of the League of Nations, it worked in conjunction with it. Though the League ceased to function after the Second World War began, the Labor Office continued its activity. Its twenty-sixth session was held in Philadelphia in April, 1944. At this meeting a program of objectives to be sought by workers everywhere was drawn up.

Primarily these objectives emphasize two needs: full employment and rising living standards. This program insists that the common welfare of all people must be the aim of employers, employees, and governments working together. All human beings, a resolution of the I.L.O. insists, "have a right to pursue material and spiritual well-being in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity."⁵ Specifically, the program emphasizes plans for labor-management cooperation, and the extension of social-security measures to provide minimum income for all, medical care, "adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture."

It is worth noting that at this conference in Philadelphia forty-one countries were represented by delegates from governments, employers, and workers. During the period of the life of the organization since 1919, standards of wages, hours, working conditions, and protection for mothers and children have been embodied in codes which have been presented to the various member countries. Many of these codes have been adopted and serve as standards of labor welfare.

⁵Reprint from *International Labor Review*. July, 1944, p. 5.

It will be agreed that there are serious obstacles to international labor unity. National and racial prejudices are strong barriers to mutual understanding. Quite different existing standards of living constitute a problem hard to overcome. Yet, in spite of such obstacles to united action, there is a strong and hopeful trend toward mutual agreement and effort. In the years to come it may well be that the human objectives for which industry exists may become so clear and definite through the efforts of this and similar international organizations that they will be readily accepted.

War and Unemployment In speaking of international investments we noted that such investments disregard national boundaries. The most profitable fields for investment have usually been found in regions industrially undeveloped. The United States in the last century was such a region, so also, and even more recently, were Canada and the countries of South America. Japan, Russia, Australia, and Turkey have been building new industries on borrowed capital.

Students of geography and world conditions emphasize the importance of types of natural resources with respect to the relative power of nations and the trend toward war. They divide nations into three groups. First are those which are primarily agricultural or food-producing, such as China, most of South America, and parts of Europe. The second group are industrial in character, of which Britain, Germany, France, and Japan are examples. A third group are the more nearly "balanced" nations, producing both food and industrial products. The United States and modern Russia illustrate this group.

The basis which is necessary for industrialization is the possession of adequate supplies of power resources, primarily coal and iron. The basis for agricultural production which can be used not only to feed the producing people but also to exchange with other nations for manufactured prod-

ucts, is an abundance of good soil. The balanced nations have both essentials.

It will be agreed that the two great wars of the present century reflect these differences in major resources and development. They reveal the attempt of the less well provided nations to use war as a method of changing their situation. But it should also be apparent that war can never solve this difficulty. Access to raw materials and to food can be brought about, not by a system of spoils and resulting slavery, but only by open agreement and international understanding. Wars for resources waged by nations against other nations are remnants of a system of extravagant nationalism which is out of step with the trend toward economic world unity.

It is true that every great war causes a period of increased production and a high level of employment. This is due to the sudden heavy demand for war materials, on the one hand, and to the drafting of manpower for military service, on the other.

The Civil War in the United States was such a period. Northern factories used larger and larger numbers of workers, while in the South new factories were built, and greater quantities of cotton were grown to sell to the mills of England and France in exchange for arms. There was no unemployment anywhere. The same situation prevailed in both of the World Wars of this century. Unemployment disappeared in both periods.

But this disappearance of unemployment in time of war is a temporary fact, though it may last for a time after war is ended. When the soldiers return, however, they must go to work, thereby increasing the labor supply, while production of war materials must end and factories shut their doors, thereby reducing the demand for labor. Unemployment becomes as inevitable as was war-born employment, unless measures are discovered by which government can keep men

at work until industry regains a more normal condition

It is a very real question how far it is possible for nations to remain politically quite independent states while wealth and people are becoming more and more thoroughly international. Goods are produced by men and machines in cooperation. Wars are fought between nations to weaken opponents and to seize their wealth. But in the process production is transferred from useful goods to materials of destruction. That is to say, destruction of wealth and life cannot in the long run become the foundation of better conditions and standards of living. A nation whose productive resources have been destroyed has no products with which to buy goods from other parts of the world. The poverty of one is the poverty of all. How, then, shall we organize the life of the world so that we need no longer destroy each other? This is the economic as well as the political and moral problem of our age.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

- 1 Explain the meaning of each of the following terms

private property	wealth	handicraft
capital	trade	business cycle
vocation	wage earner	service occupations
- 2 Make a list of thirty occupations and classify them into three groups, as follows

I	II	III
Unskilled	Skilled or Semiskilled	Professional
- 3 Name and explain briefly three occupations which are affected by seasonal changes
- 4 Name two mechanical inventions which have resulted in the creation of new occupations for labor. Explain.
- 5 Can you think of two mechanical inventions which have released wage earners from employment?

6. How do specialization and machine methods lead to impersonality in industry? How does this trend affect workers?
7. It has been said that no country can have strong labor organizations until it has a permanent laboring class. Is this true? Have we a permanent laboring class in the United States?
8. Try to find out what kinds of part-time training for workers exist in your community. What agencies maintain them?
9. There was a time when the average industrial workday in the United States was ten or twelve hours. Today it is eight or nine hours. Do you think that it may eventually be five or six hours?
10. What is an "unemployable" worker? Try to find an estimate of the probable number of "unemployables" in the United States. (Consult references.)
11. "Industry must create new consumers as it creates new goods," we are often told. Do you agree with this statement?
12. Why has organized labor consistently opposed the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes?
13. What are labor "jurisdictional" disputes?
14. Make an outline from which you can discuss the history of the National Labor Relations Act. Note especially the working of the act during the Second World War.
15. Clip one article, editorial, or newspaper column relating to unemployment. Does the writer have any constructive suggestions to make or is he merely pleading for others to accept his prejudices?
16. What evidences do you find in this chapter that the authors are biased?

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CHAPTER 7

CAN GOVERNMENT UNDERWRITE SECURITY? SOCIAL LEGISLATION

- I. OLD RISKS GIVE PLACE TO NEW ONES
 - 1. Ignorance Brings Fear
 - 2. Technology Brings Risk
 - II. SOCIAL UNREST OF OUR AGE
 - 1. Democracy Increases Social Mobility
 - 2. Many Groups Share Insecurity
 - III. TYPES OF INSECURITY TODAY
 - 1. Individual Weakness Needs Group Protection
 - 2. Accidents
 - 3. Sickness
 - 4. Unemployment
 - 5. Old Age
 - 6. Homelessness
 - 7. Lack of Education
 - 8. Group and Personal Relationships
 - IV. EFFORTS TO INCREASE SECURITY
 - 1. Charity and Relief of Distress
 - 2. Private Industries Try Welfare Plans
 - 3. Organized Labor Attempts Its Own Relief
 - 4. Social Security Legislation in Other Countries
 - 5. Social Security Legislation in the United States
 - V. THE SOCIAL SECURITY LAW
 - 1. Unemployment Features
 - 2. Old Age Features
 - 3. No Provision for Sickness
 - 4. Public Enterprise Supplements Social Security
 - 5. Shall We Enlarge the Social Security System?
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We have noted repeatedly the elements of uncertainty and risk in the operation of modern industrial society. Though we have accomplished little in attempts to eliminate risks, we have been able to anticipate them to some extent and to devise means by which losses are shared. Insurance companies provide means whereby large numbers of persons or business firms can make contributions to common funds from which the unfortunate may be reimbursed for unexpected losses. In this manner we make some provision against suffering from fire, storms, theft, property destruction, and even sickness and premature death.

We say that an insurance company "underwrites" various forms of risk. It makes no guarantee against disaster, but merely provides a "cushion" for the unfortunate, thus helping to avoid the most extreme losses and suffering.

Observing this principle at work, many persons have argued during recent decades that it is possible for an entire people to anticipate and provide a large measure of security against the hazards arising in an unstable industrial society. If we cannot prevent sickness, accidents, old age, unemployment, and business depressions, they say, we can at least use our joint resources as a nation to prevent their most disastrous effects. In this way we can act through the government to "underwrite" a large measure of security for every man, woman, and child in the nation. We can use the *material* security which we have as a result of scientific knowledge and skill as a basis for *social* security.

Let us address ourselves in this chapter to consideration of this idea. In Chapter 6 our theme was industrial instability. Let us now consider especially the effects of industrial instability on the individual and the family. What risks and misfortunes of industrial society fall upon the largest numbers? What steps have been taken to prevent suffering as a result of them? What does the future seem to hold?



CAN GOVERNMENT UNDERWRITE SECURITY?

group of workers filing their claims for unemployment compensation—part of a Federal-State program operated under the Social Security Act.

Old Risks Give Place to New Ones

Ignorance Brings Fear It is probable that life will always have its uncertainties. Every uncertainty implies a risk, a step in the dark. Knowledge removes many uncertainties, such as the fear of harm from evil spirits. This danger has always seemed very real to primitive people. Famine, too, has been a stern reality. Improved transportation of food has done much to remove it, though in isolated regions or in time of war's devastation, famine is an uncertain but real and terrifying fact.

Plagues and contagious diseases, also, have been among the most bitterly feared enemies of man. The deadly "black death," smallpox, typhus fever, yellow fever have far exceeded many wars in their destruction of life. As late as the Civil War in America citizens of Cincinnati dreaded the approach of summer lest yellow fever should "come up the river" from New Orleans. They knew no preventive or cure for it, their only hope was to escape by fleeing to higher and isolated areas. Today yellow fever has yielded to the knowledge that it is carried by a mosquito, though it still appears in Central Africa and other hot climates.

When Louis XV of France died, his attendants fled from his bedchamber. He died from smallpox, a dread disease of his and earlier times. Today vaccination is an almost certain preventive.

In these and many other instances knowledge has lessened human fears. Safety through knowledge has overcome the uncertainty of ignorance.

Technology Brings Risk. There is another side to this picture of fear and uncertainty. In our modern world knowledge has not ended risks. On the contrary, the more knowledge we have, the more definite become some of the hazards of daily life. Indirectly, scientific knowledge is itself re-

sponsible for increasing uncertainty and insecurity. Risk grows through the complicated living of associated life. Modern technology, based on science, is the main cause of the massing of people in close contact, resulting in transmission of many germ diseases and in heavy death rates from street and highway accidents. The use of machines in factories, on farms and railroads, and in fighting brings a heavy toll of death. The instability of industrial organization leads, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, to unemployment with its consequent poverty and fear for the future.

Let us note, for instance, some causes of death in recent years. In 1942 motor-vehicle accidents caused the death of 28,200 persons in the United States. In New York State alone there were 1319 deaths in industrial plants. The census for 1940 records the total number of deaths for one year in the United States as 1,417,269. Of this total, infectious diseases resulting from contacts accounted for 119,755 deaths, while tuberculosis alone killed 60,000 people. War, too, has become more deadly with the use of machines. We do not yet have adequate records of the destruction of the Second World War, but deaths in the First World War numbered between eight and ten million. This number is calculated to have been an increase of about 25 percent over the normal total of deaths in the countries involved.¹ Death rates for France and Germany were naturally much heavier than for the United States. In those two countries the number of deaths was increased by from 40 to 45 percent.

It is evident that the disastrous nature of the uncertainties of today is not due entirely to ignorance. It seems to be due, rather, to our failure to organize and put fully to use the knowledge we have. The more complex our life becomes, the greater are the threats to individuals and groups of accident, contagion, unemployment, and other hazards. We

¹Ogburn, W. F. *American Society in Wartime*, p. 2.

foresee these dangers and are aware of their seriousness, but we have not made full provision for meeting them. Even in a field like medicine, in which new knowledge is constantly increasing, the failure to organize the wide and efficient use of such knowledge lessens its effectiveness in overcoming the hazards of sickness and its consequences. War continues to add millions in every generation to the toll of deaths, while the fears and mental chaos resulting from war are perhaps as great an evil as the actual deaths. Unemployment, contagion, accident, nervous disorders, poverty, and other by-products of our associated life are only partially controlled.

Social Unrest of Our Age

Democracy Increases Social Mobility So great an uncertainty about the future, about life, its new dangers, its economic hazards, its terrible wars, has led to great unrest among all classes of citizens. Discussions may and should bring light on all the problems involved, but discussions themselves emphasize the dangers, arousing fears and imagined terrors.

One of the characteristics of our democratic society is that most people have hope that they can improve their position in life. They hope to add to their wealth, to increase their influence, to raise their social standing, or perhaps only to move from place to place and "see life." Changes such as these involve risks. A stationary class society gives very few opportunities either to move up the social ladder or to move about freely from place to place. As a consequence the risks involved in change are almost nonexistent. Because present-day social life is fluid, mobile, responding to ambitions, there is much taking of chances, running of risks, and much despondency and sense of failure when ambitions are thwarted. Delinquency in youth is partially the result of this thwarting of normal hopes and ambitions. It is partly, too, the

result of the continued reports of the successes of others in hazardous undertakings which suggest short cuts to fame or fortune.

Not only youth is disturbed by the insecurities of modern life. The aged, without occupation, and fitting with difficulty into the changing pattern of an unfamiliar world, dread these uncertainties.

Many Groups Share Insecurity. Nor is insecurity confined to any one group, such as industrial workers in cities. Farm groups show the same anxieties, the same dread of the unknown economic future. The position of so-called white-collar workers is anything but enviable, while the small businessman, trying to compete with big business, finds himself wondering if the chance for an independent life has gone forever. To persons in each of these groups sweeping changes in business and industry bring recognition that they are face to face with movements which they cannot control, nor can they see how to change their position to one of greater security in the midst of general disorder.

Why is there such chaos, such uncertainty, such fear of the future? Is there anything we can do about it? In the midst of growing power to provide goods for human needs, why cannot personal life be more free from fear, more hopeful of the future? Can government, which is all of us acting together, guarantee the satisfaction of basic wants? Can it bring order out of disorder, hope out of despair, yet leave us essentially free in our personal lives? This is the theme we are considering. We shall begin by looking at the causes, especially as they appear in industry. Our risks are very considerably economic, though not all hazards are the direct outgrowth of industry, of course. Some are a result of our complicated, interrelated, crowded conditions of living, as we have noted. For these conditions industrial methods and organization are only indirectly responsible.

Though some industrial dangers have been reduced, they cannot be eliminated altogether. However, the ill effects of many of these dangers may be so guarded against that each person or family may feel reasonably secure from economic loss. This is the difference between safety and security. A life-insurance policy does not prevent death, but it does give some measure of financial security to the family if the supporter of the family dies. Our primary problem in this chapter is to consider how far an industrial society such as ours can provide financial security for the mass of its people.

Types of Insecurity Today

Individual Weakness Needs Group Protection In former times families lived and worked as units of closely bound individuals. What they needed for material wants they produced by their united efforts, while they bought and sold little. Whatever hazards life brought, they met as best they could by united family effort. Our modern way of life is very different. Hardly a quarter of the population lives by farming, the rest are town and city dwellers, finding employment where they can. Ours is, we have said, a money-economy, in which the main proportion of work is done for wages. Even agriculture is less and less a family undertaking. It has become a machine industry, like factory work, with fewer workers in total number, but with a steadily growing percentage working for wages just as in urban industry.

Machines, workers massed together in large numbers, crowded city streets, rapid transportation by train, by auto, or by airplane—these are among the characteristics of modern life which create hazards for every individual. At first it was assumed, as machines became common, that each worker and his family must take whatever the risks might be and guard themselves against their results as best they could.

But it soon became clear that individuals do not make these risks nor can they prevent them or guard against their harmful effects. Industry is a group activity and protection must be by group action.

Gradually the most serious risks of industrial society began to stand out clearly, and slowly—indeed, far too slowly—certain principles of social action to offset consequences of these risks came to be generally understood. We shall consider first the major hazards, and then describe various efforts to protect workers from the resulting insecurities of life.

In describing various types and conditions of insecurity we must be careful not to draw unwarranted conclusions. *Misfortune* does not imply *misbehavior* or *incapacity*. To assume that misfortune is evidence of either incapacity or misbehavior is to attribute to the worker the shortcomings of the industrial machine system. The only inference we are entitled to draw from misfortune, such as sickness or unemployment, is that the misfortune is usually caused by the industrial organization itself. It is suffered by persons, but these persons do not explain its occurrence.

The more important types of insecurity which arise in industrial society are:

Accidents

Sickness

Disability

Unemployment or Poor Employment

Old Age

Homelessness

Educational Lack

Aspects of Group and Personal Relationships

Accidents. Machine accidents are so common that they are everywhere acknowledged to be a risk of industrial life. For many years they were considered to be due to careless-

ness and the worker was said to have assumed the risk. A serious accident left the worker helpless for the future, with poverty for himself and his family inevitable. Today most countries of the world, including almost all of the states of our Union, have accident compensation laws which require payment by employers to injured persons according to the severity of accidents.

This change of attitude represents our growing understanding of the nature of insecurity. We have left behind hand tool industries and isolated social life. We have entered the mass-population, interrelated way of living. Insecurity takes its forms from the characteristics and consequences of the machine environment. The toll of deaths or serious injuries in factories, for example, is high. Such accidents result both from contact with machines and from substances involved in manufacturing processes such as poisonous gases or dust particles. As an illustration, it is reported that from December, 1942, to July 1, 1944, 1516 California soldiers and sailors were killed in military action. In the same period reports of industrial deaths to the California Industrial Accident Commission amounted to a total of 1657. Accidental deaths occur, also, in other places than factories. On the farm or in the street, on railroads and on highways, our machine-paced society exacts its price. In 1942 there were 93,000 accident deaths in the United States.

Sickness Sickness is not invariably a direct consequence of one's occupation. But so large a percentage of sickness occurs or is spread in industrial contacts and in the crowded urban life which industry has made that it is reasonable to consider sickness a risk of industrial society. Since individuals are relatively helpless to prevent attack, it is logical to recognize sickness as a phenomenon of group life and to meet it by group action.

Although sickness still remains a serious hazard that

every individual faces, medical knowledge has advanced rapidly in recent years. Prevention or cure of disease is far more usual than a generation ago. Yet the individual can do comparatively little by himself to ward off the major types of disease, such as pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhoid, malaria, and others. Moreover, the costs of hospitalization and treatment advance as medical knowledge and methods improve, so that many wage earners cannot afford adequate care.

All in all, sickness causes a steady stream of temporary or permanent labor disability. It is the main cause of absence from work in factories and shops. It is thus a handicap to production, but it is also a serious threat to the individual and family affected, due to loss of wages and additional expense.

Accidents, sickness, and consequent inability to undertake work are, therefore, serious causes of economic insecurity, and they are group conditions characteristic of industrial society. To them we must add malnutrition from poor or insufficient food.

Malnutrition is so general that it escapes notice. The need for men as soldiers disclosed the condition under dramatic circumstances in England a few years ago. The British were astonished when rejection of drafted men revealed that malnutrition was the basis of many other disabilities. As a consequence the government tried the experiment of feeding 1000 rejected men an adequate diet for six months. Of the 1000 men, about 800 were then found able to pass the army physical examinations. Discussion of this incident reminded Americans again of the fact that several million people in the United States were undernourished during the depression years of the 1930's. What stands in the way of ample diet for all? Does "freedom from want" seem a reasonable goal for the world to work toward?

Unemployment. We have described unemployment as a consequence of industrial instability. It is evident that industrial unemployment and personal economic insecurity go together. Most wage earners face the possibility of being dropped from their jobs at any time. The thing the individual worker fears most is that dismissal is apt to come when new jobs are scarce or nonexistent. He works in some particular industry. He lives in a community in which he may have a home. He wants to feel that he is a part of the industry with a place in the community. The loss of his job destroys such hopes. He does not know where to turn for a new chance. He and his family are uprooted and afraid, while their simplest physical wants are more or less unsatisfied. The poorest one-third to one-half of our population (except for wartime wages) live on so small an income that even a month without pay brings suffering and misery.

Old Age. Old age presents an especially disturbing picture. The pace of industrial work is fast, it demands vigor and endurance. In many occupations men and women soon become too old to do the work expected. Even in lighter and less exacting occupations or employments there comes a time when work is too hard for aging persons.

We must notice, too, that birth rates are gradually falling, so that while there are fewer children, the older section of the population is increasing proportionately. In 1900, 4 percent of the population was 65 or over. By 1942 the percentage in this age group had risen to 7. Calculations of the National Resources Planning Committee assert that by 1980 from 14 to 16 percent of the population will be 65 or over.

The need for provision by society of suitable arrangements for the care of the aged has not received public recognition until very recently. City housing is crowded, it is planned for small families, and the feeding of the family is

done in considerable part by an increasing number of restaurants and lunchrooms. Work is taken out of the home wherever possible. The old-time rural home had more space and the diversity of rural work provided plenty of part-time work which elderly folks could do. From childhood to old age the family was a unit in providing for its own wants. There was usually a place for the old folks.

The changes in our way of life in crowded cities have weakened family unity. Families become scattered, as their members move from place to place in response to the demands of industry. The aged do not fit into this changed way of life; they are in a sense a family liability rather than an asset. It is this fact that has gradually centered attention upon the social problem of old age.

To the elderly worker the prospect of old age is often cheerless. He has rarely been able to save enough out of his wages to support his declining years. Before the abnormal period of the Second World War the income of 70 percent of our families was not over \$1500 per year. Savings for investment have come almost altogether from the upper 20 percent of all families. That is to say, 70 to 80 percent of families in the United States have put aside practically no savings. Hence it is that all but a small fraction of the aged are dependent upon public support or are cared for by relatives or others.

Homelessness. Adequate housing for our people is one of the basic conditions of wholesome living. Lack of decent housing denies both physical protection and the best environment for the formation of character in children. Unsanitary housing is a menace to health; overcrowding within and without the house prevents recreation and normal association. The most earnest parents are handicapped in efforts to develop wholesome family life under such housing conditions as prevail in poorer sections of most cities and in many rural

areas. Death rates, particularly of little children, are excessively high in the crowded tenement sections of industrial cities, and conditions of delinquency thrive in the same areas.

It is now definitely known that the family incomes of something like one-half our total population are not large enough for families to afford decent houses, however small and cheaply furnished. The idea, once accepted, that each family must supply its own dwelling place seems impossible of realization in industrial society. Many students believe that in these circumstances proper housing must be recognized as a public rather than a private matter. The cost of public housing must be assumed, they argue, somewhat as public health expenses are now paid.

The federal government began to provide housing assistance by laws passed from 1934 to 1938. Private home-building was to be encouraged by the Federal Housing Administration, through which low-interest loans could be arranged for householders. Another act created the United States Housing Authority, through which low-cost buildings for families with low incomes can be constructed. This is often spoken of as a provision for "slum clearance." These housing laws had only begun to be used when the Second World War brought an end to house construction. Students of this problem estimate that there is now a critical need for something like a million new houses per year for a number of years.

Lack of Education In a later chapter the general problem of education is considered. At this point we shall note only the relation of the lack of suitable education to the general facts of insecurity today.

In 1940 the total number of children and youth between 5 and 24 years of age was 46,351,915. Of this number those attending school amounted to 26,759,099, or 57.7 percent of the total. That is to say, 42.3 percent were not in school. As would be expected, attendance is heaviest up to age 13.



graph from Federal Public Housing Authority

ADEQUATE HOUSING IS NECESSARY FOR WHOLESOME LIVING

These modern homes in Athens, Georgia, were erected on the spot where the cabin formerly stood.

Three-fourths of the students had left school before the age of 19

For some time the federal government has made financial grants to the states for vocational education. In 1942 the number of young people enrolled in classes and schools receiving such aid numbered only 2,429,054, distributed among agricultural, trade and industrial, and home-economics courses. Do these figures indicate a lack of interest in the need of vocational preparation, or a lack of opportunity to take advantage of this education? How shall we explain the comparatively small percent of youths above thirteen years of age who are enrolled in vocational schools or classes?

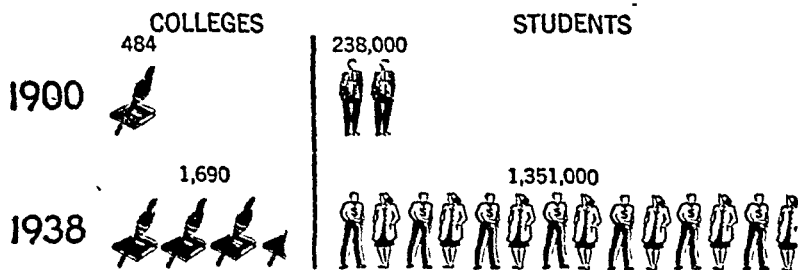
Inequality of educational opportunity is a serious fact even in America. A short school year is the lot of some millions of rural children, while many city children have only half-day sessions because of an insufficient number of school buildings. Thousands of children escape school altogether.

Moreover, it should be evident that short courses, teaching a special bit of machine or trade skill, are not enough to prepare one for a position of importance in our complicated industrial world. Never has there been such need for breadth of education, long-continued. Those individuals who have recognized this fact and sought a thorough education have found more frequent and better opportunities waiting for them.

Even more significant than figures such as we have given is the question, How aware is the school of the changing life in which it functions? Does it help pupils to know and understand society? Does it equip youth for cooperative producing and sharing? Are they made aware of the very real threats to democratic life on every hand? It is not enough to remember facts. The vital matter is to think clearly in planning for individual and group welfare and in deciding public issues and selecting competent leaders. Are pupils so

occupied with routine matters as to deaden vital interests that stimulate the mind and keep it creative? No figures can answer such questions. But when we reflect that a large per-

MORE COLLEGES AND STUDENTS



Courtesy of National Association of Manufacturers

centage of young people leave school before the completion of the elementary grades, it seems probable that there is a great lack of the kind of education that is needed to stimulate their interest.

Since insecurity and instability are leading problems of our civilization, schools might help pupils (at least, older pupils) to understand this situation and to prepare for it. Many young people today are restless and dissatisfied, without any definite aim in life and without emotional self-control. These traits are largely the consequence of the uncertainties and the uprooted nature of our changing social life, but they are also a reason why the problems are so hard to meet. Educational direction can do much to modify this situation if the school faces it as a major problem.

There are also large and increasing needs for adult education if we are to create and retain truly democratic institutions. In the days of a simple society citizens could be given fairly ample training in personal and public affairs in the elementary grades. But so complex and rapidly changing is our society of today that even well-educated adults

cannot understand it unless they study a great deal. They must be helped to understand vocational problems, family problems, and problems of social or political nature. Most adults also need guidance in interpreting propaganda. We shall have more to say of this matter in a later chapter.

Group and Personal Relationships In conditions which are favorable to normal, wholesome life, each individual is bound to others in group associations. The close unity of family and neighborhood formerly encouraged the growth of such personal characteristics as the awareness of obligations, unselfishness, pride in accomplishment, honesty, and kindness. Just as a plant has its roots in the soil, so personality has its character roots in the group environment. Unfortunately, modern society is so unstable, so shifting in associations, that many people today, especially youth, are without helpful group support. They are socially uprooted. Families are often broken, their members separated from each other. Neighborhoods provide less intimate group associations than formerly. In city tenements or apartment houses close neighbors are as indifferent to each other as though they lived miles apart.

Out of this condition arises much of the discouragement so common today. Dull hopelessness is far too usual. A feeling of vague fear of what may happen and of helplessness to change or better one's situation breaks down purposive, vigorous, creative endeavor.

Efforts to Increase Security

Charity and Relief of Distress The oldest method used to relieve personal and family misery has been to give direct and temporary help to sufferers. This method does not in any way attempt to modify the basic causes of misery. It erects no barriers against their recurrence. It assumes that

the sufferer is unfortunate and needs help. It should be said, too, that whatever more adequate methods are adopted to give life a greater degree of security, there will perhaps always be a need for immediate relief for unexpected or unprovided-for cases of need. The worst phase of charity is not its inadequacy, though this is obvious, nor even its deplorable effect upon those who are compelled to receive it. Its worst effect is upon those who as givers are led to ignore the need of a more farsighted and systematic plan to provide greater security to entire groups, such as the unemployable aged, children, the crippled, the blind, and others.

Private Industries Try Welfare Plans. For many years various industrial plants have carried on what is called welfare work. This effort, though unimportant in its total influence, has indicated recognition by management of a responsibility for its labor force. Playgrounds have been established, retirement allowance or pension systems have been worked out, bonus gifts at the close of the year have become common, and profit-sharing has been tried by a few concerns for a number of years. None of these programs proved satisfactory to labor, which was and is apt to look on them as unimportant concessions to public opinion. In fact, all of the plans of this type are viewed with suspicion by union labor as attempts to break down the long-standing impression that workers have been inhumanly treated by management in many cases. Demands for such measures are mainly in response to a growing public opinion sympathetic with labor rather than to a demand by labor itself.

Organized Labor Attempts Its Own Relief. The history of labor after the introduction of machines shows a growing understanding of the need and value of group organization to advance labor interests. We have seen that unrestricted "free enterprise" places the entire control of industry, including the position of labor, in the hands of the owner or

manager. The individual worker acting alone is helpless to change the conditions of his employment.

Workers saw that by united action they could exert some power in their own interest. Collective bargaining with employers often has brought results in better wages, shorter hours, improved conditions within the plant, and other desired changes. This, then, is the first and major explanation of the growth of labor unions. It is simply a cooperative method of advancing a program of improvement in the relative position of labor as a group.

From the beginning of labor organization there has been a second reason for the existence of unions. This is a mutual-aid principle, its origin going back much earlier than the machine age to the medieval craft guilds. The payment of small fees by each worker created a pool or fund from which help could be given to unfortunate members and their families. Widows were given aid, funeral expenses were paid, workers were helped during sickness, and often a large enough reserve was accumulated to care for members in time of unemployment.

This is probably the beginning of the use of a kind of social insurance against insecurity in industry, though only a small part of needed assistance could be provided in this way. In large unions it became an important aid and a factor in creating a public consciousness that the insecurities of labor are serious aspects of industry. Gradually the public began to understand and to sympathize with the demand that some inclusive plan be adopted by law to meet the hazards of the industrial system.

The reader should bear in mind that only a small proportion of wage earners have ever belonged to unions. Hence the collective efforts of unions have not greatly helped the needs of the unorganized mass of laborers. Moreover, union labor has cared most to use its collective bargaining strength

to improve wages, hours, and general working conditions within each industry, rather than to modify by law the hazards of the entire industrial system. For a long time laws and court decisions favored the unlimited authority of management over its labor force. Legislatures and courts refused to modify this principle. They were hostile to the idea of legal minimum standards of labor protection in wages, hours, and working conditions. Consequently, organized labor came to look with suspicion upon legislation as a method of bettering its position, preferring to rely upon its own organization, through which management might be compelled to make definite trade agreements with labor.

In the interest of all labor, unorganized as well as organized, the public has pressed for the passage of laws to protect or improve the standard of life of the population as a whole. Most of these are state laws, but in recent years the federal Congress has passed several protective labor laws. One of the most important is known as the Standard Hours and Wages Law; another is the Social Security Law, which we shall discuss later. Such laws are indeed limitations upon complete freedom of private enterprise. However, it is claimed by their supporters that they fix limits within which private enterprise may operate and thus tend to equalize opportunity and to improve living conditions.

Social Security Legislation in Other Countries. Other countries inaugurated systems of social security legislation administered by the government many years ago. In Germany a plan of this kind was put into effect in the latter part of the nineteenth century when that country began to make use of machine technology, with its consequent increase of industrial hazards. Great Britain followed, with a somewhat different plan, in the early years of the twentieth century. Still later other European nations took similar action.

It is enough for our purpose to note that each system of

social security (1) recognized certain basic hazards to workers which are inherent in industrial production or are an outgrowth of industrial organization, and (2) accepted the principle of insurance—a fund gathered from many contributions from which necessary protection can be given to those individuals who have reasonable claims upon it. The risks or hazards which are insured are those which we have already described as most critical in industry: unemployment, accident, sickness, disability, and old age. To these are commonly added such other conditions as the economic needs of mothers at child-birth, allowances for children, guarding of machines to avoid danger, and certain limitations on labor by children, such as age restrictions, reduction of hours, and prohibition of work in dangerous industries.

Social Security Legislation in the United States Long after other countries had discussed and adopted comprehensive social security legislation, industrial employers and their supporters in the United States refused to accept it and were able to prevent its adoption here. Many fought it simply because it seemed to put a burden of expense upon industry. Many others, however, were honestly of the opinion that governmental compulsion upon industry such as is involved in social insurance laws is a definite and harmful limitation upon freedom of enterprise, which was interpreted to mean the right of each industrial unit to be free from all governmental regulation.

The battleground over this issue is definitely indicated in the conflicting positions here assumed. On the one hand are capital and business management. They stand upon the so-called right of free enterprise, denying that government has any concern with business. Limitations by law upon private management contradict, they assert, the spirit of independence and progressive business organization. Private control of production is, they believe, the basic factor in our

economic life. At all hazards it must be preserved against every effort to modify or weaken it by legislation demanded by those who have little wealth. These owners and managers tend to think of themselves, so their opponents believe, as a special class set apart by superior ability to manage the nation's business and, when necessary, its political affairs as well. (See Chapters 2 and 5.)

On the other side are those who hold that the function of an industrial or business system is (1) to create wealth and (2) to supply the needs of all the people by means of it. They consider the theory of *laissez faire* or "government keep hands off" an impossible as well as immoral ideal of extravagant individualism in opposition to the superior right of the human needs of all the people. They deride the claim that managers are a superior class by nature, asserting that their superiority rests upon privileges growing out of the possession of property which has for so long had the special protection and bounty of government. Instead of private enterprise being independent of government, it has always asserted a special claim upon it. Those who hold this position object to having their criticism dismissed by calling them names such as radicals, socialists, and impractical idealists. They insist that to leave business enterprise uncontrolled by law as it waxes greater in size and power sets up an economic government which tends to usurp all authority. If, therefore, the harm to life resulting from the many insecurities in our system is not compensated for by industry, the cost becomes a tax to be borne by the people in order to give capital and its managers a free hand to produce or waste wealth as they wish.

In spite of the objections which prevailed for many years, a body of law was gradually built up by separate states to give accident compensation to injured laborers. Industrial accidents are to ordinary observers the type of hazard which

is most obviously the direct outcome of machine production, though accidents are a less serious danger in numbers affected and permanency of harm than some other hazards such as unemployment

Nearly all of the states today have accident compensation laws. They vary greatly in the amount of compensation provided for injury and in other particulars. All make use of the insurance principle, though applying it in different ways. Some states have a single fund to which every manufacturer in a type of industry must contribute, and from which accident compensation is paid. In other states those manufacturers whose capital is sufficient may each maintain his own insurance fund, but each is legally responsible for compensating his own workmen for injury. Only a few of these state laws include compensation for industrial diseases, though it is evident that certain serious diseases result from some industries, as, for example, where chemical poisons are used, or from dust particles which injure the lungs.

It was not until 1935 that the United States government passed its first nation-wide social security law. This followed the long period of business depression beginning with the decade of the 1930's, the worst depression the world has ever seen. In 1933 one-fourth of the wage-earning population of America was unemployed. Charitable organizations were helpless to meet the situation. The closing of factories and the spread of unemployment went on together. Because of the awakening brought about by this desperate situation, the federal Social Security law was passed.

The Social Security Law

It was not easy for Congress to agree upon which industrial risks should be covered in the law. Opposition to any kind of federal law was serious. Two types of negative argu-

ment were frequently heard. One insisted that industrial legislation was not within the power of the federal government, but belonged to the states. The second argument objected to the increase of taxation at a time when so many businesses were finding it hard to keep alive. Many, too, were still unwilling to believe that the causes of unemployment and related ills were anything other than the unwillingness of the unemployed to work. But public opinion was more thoroughly roused than it had ever been before. It was plain that states would not be able to meet the distressing situation. A federal law seemed the only solution.

In view of the opposition, it was felt necessary by supporters of the law to include provisions which would meet only the most obvious needs. The act which was finally passed by Congress, therefore, is primarily an unemployment and old-age security law, with additional assistance to the states for some other human needs, such as state public-health departments, state aid to widows with dependent children, and grants for education of blind and physically handicapped persons. No provision for sickness insurance was made.

The insurance features of the Social Security Act, in regard to unemployment and in regard to old age, require some description.

Unemployment Features. Our federal form of government makes the problem of a single federal law complicated. Compensation laws in existence before 1935 were state laws, as were most of the varied other types of labor laws. As a compromise, rather than because it would prove in the end the best for purposes of administration, the unemployment feature of the law of 1935 (amended in 1938) is, in many respects, "a joint federal-state system." A federal tax of 3 percent of industrial payrolls is levied upon those employers who are included under the law. In each state which

adopts suitable unemployment compensation laws, 90 per cent of this federal tax from its employers is credited to the state. The federal government thus makes it to the advantage of the state to enact a suitable compensation law. The natural consequence of this provision was that within two years all the states and territories had passed the necessary legislation. Thus the actual administration of the law is in the hands of the states and is financed by a fund derived by taxation upon employers. The tax is collected by the federal government.

Many problems had to be decided. What workers were to be benefited by the act? What amount of payment or benefit should they receive, and for how long a period of weeks? These questions have been answered in various ways, since each state passes its own law. The amount of weekly benefit paid during unemployment varies (1945) from \$5 to \$18 per week. Benefit payments continue from 2 to 16 weeks. Large groups of workers do not come under the benefit of this law. The most important excluded groups are agricultural workers, domestic employees, and workers for firms which hire fewer than eight employees. Most state laws also exclude low-skilled labor which has not been regularly employed.

The exclusion of so many persons from the benefits of the law is recognized by those who administer it as a weakness. Weaknesses also are the relatively small amount of the benefit, and the short period during which benefits may be received by individuals, regardless of how long the period of depression and unemployment may continue. No consideration is given, either, to the number of family dependents affected by each case of unemployment. Yet in spite of these evident weaknesses, thoughtful employers as well as workers consider the law a forward step in a program which is to guard workers and others against the hazards of industrial

society for which they are in no way responsible and against which individual protection is impossible.

It will be natural for the reader to ask if there are not differences of opinion in regard to what we have called weaknesses, and, if so, why. On so important a question differences are bound to arise. Those who would like to see the law strengthened and made more inclusive are composed of officials who administer the law and whose opinion is drawn from their experience. Also, most students who have devoted years of study to the problem and to the working of similar laws in other countries agree with this group. They point out that unemployed workers come not only from factories and other industries, but also from agriculture and from domestic employment. Small businesses, also, are as likely as great industrial plants to discharge workers in time of depression. These groups, now excluded from protection, should be provided for, and they believe that it is not impossible to do so. Moreover, they insist that the amount of benefit ought to be large enough to sustain workers and their families if the law is to accomplish its object. It is not the case, either, that periods of depression can be counted upon to last for only a brief period. Therefore, a law which limits its benefits to a few weeks, though the depression may last for months, cannot be considered adequate.

Those who do not wish to see the law expanded or strengthened are drawn largely from elements in trade and industrial management who resent government supervision and fear increased taxation. Various congressmen also express themselves as unwilling to see a larger fund created because they claim it could be used for political purposes. We should bear in mind that in a period of "good times" and wide employment the fund grows rapidly.

Other criticisms of the law, especially the omission of a sickness insurance provision, are considered later.

To help unemployed men find work, a National Public Employment Service has been established with offices in states and cities. The work of the employment service recognizes how little the individual worker can do to find work outside of his community. The Public Employment Service, therefore, becomes a clearinghouse for labor, knowing where unfilled jobs exist and where unemployed labor is to be found. This service is now managed by the Social Security Board, which administers the Social Security law. It is an important part of the security program.

The Old Age Features of the Law The second major part of the Social Security program—called Old Age and Survivors Security—has to do with the protection of the aged worker. This part of the law is administered entirely by the federal government. It provides for a tax upon employers' payrolls of 1 per cent. Employees contribute from wages a similar amount. The government pays the cost of administration. From the fund thus established, laborers retiring from work at 65 receive monthly benefit payments. The amount of benefit received varies according to the wages previously received and the length of time workers have been regularly employed. The amounts vary from \$10 to \$80 per month. Married men are entitled to additional amounts for a wife at the retirement age and for dependent children under 18 years of age if attending school.

As is the case of unemployment insurance, there are many groups not covered by the law, such as domestic and agricultural labor.

A separate feature of the law, supplementary to the "Old Age and Survivors Security" provisions, is intended to afford protection to the aged who are not protected by those provisions. Such persons are, for example, those who have no record of steady employment, and those disabled, sick, or incapacitated in any way. The federal government offers

financial assistance to each state which passes an old-age pension or assistance law with certain standard administrative provisions. The federal government will match the amounts the state pays each person up to a total pension of \$40 per month. Many states had passed old-age pension laws before 1935. This federal law had the effect of bringing state legislation under certain uniform standards and increasing the amounts to be received by the aged.

Other sections of the Social Security law authorize what are called federal grants-in-aid to the states for a number of handicapped groups, such as needy mothers with children, the blind, crippled children, and for rural areas needing health service, especially for mothers and children.

No Provision for Sickness. The most important type of social security insurance not provided for in this law is sickness, though some assistance, as just noted, is given to the states, especially those states least financially able to develop an adequate public health system.

Opposition to compulsory health insurance by various interested groups prevented the inclusion in the law of health insurance provisions. The profession of medicine, for instance, fits into the private-enterprise system. Sick persons buy the physician's services and the drugs prescribed. If needed, hospital care is also purchased. The manufacture of drugs is a profit-making business. Physicians expect a reasonable payment for their services, though the price is not altogether determined by competition, but by agreements made within the profession. Hospitals are paid, too, for the care they give, though a large number are publicly supported. Evidently there are various special interests involved, and those who find the system satisfactory are unwilling to have important changes made.

Although many physicians recognize that the cost of medical service has been increased greatly by the develop-

ment of modern technology, the most influential opposition to a sickness insurance law has come from groups of doctors. The most important group which objected to the inclusion of such a provision in the Social Security law in 1935 was the American Medical Association. This Association also has fought against proposals for state sickness insurance laws, and even against voluntary group insurance. The position of officers of this Association is that people should have the opportunity to choose their own physicians, and that the relation of doctor and patient is a personal one which is important to health. They argue, too, that men of ability will be much less inclined to devote their lives to the prevention and cure of sickness under a rigid state-controlled system.

Those who favor sickness insurance call attention to advances in medical science with its expensive equipment and resulting higher charges for services. Large sections of the population are not financially able to benefit from the progress of medical knowledge and skill, they claim. Though many doctors give their services freely to poorer people, others do not, and large numbers of persons are unwilling to accept medical charity. It is argued further that experience with the British sickness insurance system indicates that patients can and do choose their own doctors if they wish, and any doctor who prefers may refuse to accept social insurance patients. It is true, further, that with increasing medical specialization medical services are more and more impersonal, the older close relationship of physician and patient is tending to disappear.

Regardless of the details of this debate, it is undoubtedly true that far too many of the population are sick much of the time. Health conditions revealed by military draft during recent years startled the public by the high percentage of young men pronounced physically unfit for military serv-

ice. The health of the people in times of peace as well as war is a distinctly public concern. It may be that a much higher level of strength and vigor could be attained by public organization of medical resources and their control. At least, the idea should not be dismissed without thorough investigation and discussion. It is probable that the demand for a sickness insurance law will continue to be heard frequently. If a compulsory health insurance program is not adopted, a greatly expanded public health service, equivalent practically to free medical service for large numbers of the population, is apt to be put into practice. At present there is no real protection of workers from the economic loss which results from sickness. The cost of medical and hospital care must be borne by the worker himself. Sickness is a risk of industrial society for which we have made no adequate provision.

Public Enterprise Supplements Social Security. Looking back over what has been said about the uncertainties of modern industrial society, we can see that we have made a beginning in the way of compulsory effort to meet them. There is reason to believe, too, that there is a growing consciousness of an obligation resting upon business and industry to serve public welfare. This leads us to speak of another phase of a program of security which we shall need to face. When we recognize that 10,000,000 persons must find their way back into industry after a great war, we see not only that private industry must employ as large a number of workers as it possibly can, but that there may still remain many unemployed even though they are vigorous and eager for jobs. In a period in which machines continually displace workers, private industries may not be able to keep employed these additional millions.

This compels us to realize that there are other productive activities whose products cannot be bought over the counter.

That is, there are economic activities of great value to a good standard of living for which private enterprise does not take primary responsibility. Schools, hospitals, health centers, recreation centers, libraries, civic improvements, roads, low-cost and nonprofit housing, are examples of such valued productive activities. So also are such activities as soil and forest conservation, the development of waterways, and protection against floods. All such enterprises are a part of a better standard of living for our people, and also they will afford employment for large numbers of workers. But they can be undertaken only by the various units of government—local, state, and national.

Such a program of public construction and education may well be a part of a social security plan with great possibilities for employment, which will supplement the demands for workers in manufacturing, farming, and trade.

Shall We Enlarge the Social Security System? It is probable that a spirited debate will continue for some time as to whether we shall enlarge our social security system, and, if so, how much? Shall we extend it to cover other groups? Can we increase benefits substantially?

Those who oppose enlargement contend that we simply cannot afford it. The taxes necessary would constitute too large a drain upon industry, they contend, and would stimulate the bureaucratic nature of government to a dangerous extent. Furthermore, every extension of the program constitutes an encouragement to the shiftless and irresponsible to avoid effort. The most democratic feature of our industrial system in the past, they insist, has been that every man has been free to take his own risks and reap the rewards of whatever success he may have. To attempt to stabilize security will simply prevent future progress.

Proponents of social security enlargement maintain that these arguments are false. Leaders of industry and trade

have sought security for decades, they say, by means of tariffs, government subsidies, regulation of banking and credit, and efforts to stabilize prices. They have asked and received government aid to shield them from risks against which individual business concerns and corporations were unable to guard themselves. For individual persons to ask some measure of protection against hazards which they do not create involves precisely the same principle. In fact, the argument continues, our entire industrial system will be stabilized by an adequate program of social security. Money will be put into the hands of the most needy element of the population. The largest sums will be paid at times when business is most unstable and the need is greatest. The backlog of purchasing power thus assured will tend to prevent trade and industry from falling to the depths of business depression.² Security for one is security for all, and is thus the firmest foundation for the freedom and opportunity promised by democracy.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. List a few of the individual risks of today which did not exist a century ago.
2. What is the amount of weekly benefit paid to unemployed workers in your state? Do you consider this sum adequate? Have there ever been charges of discrimination and favoritism in the administration of the law?
3. Two opposing views are held about the effect of machines upon workers. One is that workmen have become simply operators of automatic machinery, indifferent to the quality or importance of their work. The other is that machines have increased mental alertness, resulting in a stimulated interest in work.

²See "The Domestic Economy." Supplement to *Fortune*, December, 1942; Stewart, M. *Building for Peace at Home and Abroad*, pp. 133-37.

How do you account for this difference of opinion? Are all machines alike in their effects?

- 4 List the arguments for and against public insurance against sickness. What groups are apt to oppose it? to favor it?
- 5 Look up the provisions of the "Beveridge Plan," recently proposed for Great Britain. Is it true that this plan provides "cradle to grave" protection?
- 3 It has been said that more than 100,000 people under 65 are so badly disabled every year in the United States by sickness and accident that they are unable to work. Does the Social Security Act make provision for these persons?
- 7 An obvious weakness of our present system of social security, say some critics, is the way it is financed. By taxing payrolls to secure old age and unemployment funds we take a much larger sum from the persons intended to be benefited than is eventually paid back in benefits. We should finance social insurance more largely from income, gift, and inheritance taxes, it is claimed, thus placing part of the cost on the well-to-do.

What are the arguments for and against this contention?

- 8 *Fortune* magazine once stated that a broad system of social insurance was an aid to full employment. "For it maintains consumer income, and hence effective demand. It sets a certain minimum standard of purchasing power on which industry can count in measuring the over all size of the market. Industry can thus plan its own expansion with more assurance" (Supplement of December, 1942, p. 7).

Comment on this argument.

- 9 What provisions were made for aiding the discharged veterans of the Second World War? Were these provisions sufficient to stabilize the economy during the transition from war to peace? Why?

10. Look back over the questions following Chapters 5 and 6. Has reading this chapter enlarged your understanding of them or changed your opinion on any of them?
11. Search newspapers, magazines, and books for criticisms which have been made of the Social Security Act. Do most critics feel that the act should be abandoned or merely modified? How do champions of the Act reply?
12. Which of the criticisms you have noted are directed at the law and which ones merely at the administration of the law?
13. What position on extension of social security legislation was taken by the various political parties during the last presidential campaign?

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CHAPTER 8

THE PROMISED LAND: USE AND ABUSE OF RESOURCES

- I. THE LURE OF THE LAND
 - 1. Land and People
 - 2. Land and Culture
 - 3. How the Land Serves Us
 - II. SOIL AND FOOD
 - 1. Cultivation: Tradition and Science
 - 2. What Foods?
 - 3. The Rural Way of Life
 - III. MISUSE OF THE LAND
 - 1. Soil Exhaustion
 - 2. Soil Erosion
 - 3. Forest Waste
 - 4. Waste of Mineral Resources
 - 5. The Problem of Waterpower
 - IV. LAND POLICY: PAST AND FUTURE
 - 1. Objectives of Public Policy
 - 2. The Conservation Movement
 - 3. TVA and Regional Development
 - V. LAND TENURE: WHO OWNS THE LAND?
 - 1. Machines Modify the Position of Agriculture
 - 2. Tenants and Owners
 - 3. Rural Poverty
 - VI. A BALANCE BETWEEN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY
 - 1. What Prevents?
 - 2. Cooperation in Agriculture
 - VII. THIS LAND OF OURS: A REVIEW
-

The Lure of the Land

To possess land and to use it is a deep-seated human desire. For ages, singly or by families, or in large tribal or national groups, people have moved from place to place in search of land and homes. The "children of Israel" left Egyptian slavery for the freedom of "the promised land." The German and Slavic barbarians from the Middle East swept as conquerors into Europe and settled upon the land. Similarly, our own ancestors crossed the sea, leaving behind semifeudal tradition, in order to occupy in freedom the land of America. It was both freedom and the lure of the land that brought them. Moreover, migration still continues, creating continual problems of adjustment within nations or between nations.

Land is the basis of life. It does not determine civilization, but it is essential to it. Variations of climate, soil, moisture, altitude, and contour limit and suggest types of activity which tend gradually to become fixed as cultural traditions. Consider, therefore, the relation of land and people.

Land and People It is rare that land is totally unoccupied, but it varies greatly in the size of the population it supports, largely because of the qualities of the soil itself and the ease or difficulty of access to it. Out of this difference arise some of the present problems of land. One type of production calls for factories and cities. Another type produces food, and is associated with small, scattered population centers. To maintain a suitable balance between two such different types of production is a difficult economic problem, since one way of life scatters, while the other congests, population.

If we measure the arable land of different countries we find, for example, that Soviet Russia (without Siberia) has 9 acres per man, the United States 6.4 acres, Germany (be-



Photograph by Kosti Ruohomaa from Black Star

THE RURAL WAY OF LIFE

Family-size farms, producing a variety of crops, emphasize farming as a way of life, not as primarily a commercial venture.

fore the last war) 1 acre, Great Britain (not the Empire) 1 1 acres, and Japan .2 of an acre

This varying relation of man to available land has much to do with his comfort and standards of living. Discovery and invention advance man's skill in the use of land so frequently, however, that the amount of tillable acreage per man tells only part of the story. If no new knowledge or ways of making a living arise, pressure of population brings discontent and the low standards of living which constitute poverty. Ignorance and poverty account for the short life expectancy in such crowded countries as India or China. The life expectancy of the population in British India is 27 years, in England it is 62, in European Russia, 44, in the United States, 63.

Where the pressure of population on food supply is great and the standard of living is low, hunger and starvation haunt the masses of the people. Life is short and disease flourishes, many diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria being in part the results of poverty and consequent under-nourishment. People have tried to escape too heavy pressure of population on land and its resources by (1) better cultivation of the soil, (2) industrialization of the land, (3) conquest or plunder of other lands, and (4) reduction of the birth rate or size of the population. Of these methods, migration is effective in reducing population only temporarily unless accompanied by birth restriction. Conquest destroys land as well as people, and raises more problems than it solves. More helpful are better agricultural methods to increase land production. Industrialization means specialization in production, by means of which a much larger population can be employed as long as their products can be exchanged for food produced elsewhere. It was in this way that England's compact factory populations lived upon food from the New World. Reduction of births in a country also relieves land

pressure and opens the way to improvement in the standard of living.

Land and Culture. It is worth noting that the value of land varies with the types of the culture of its people. Each cultural system or "way of living" has its own way of using the land. The feudal land system was utterly unsuited to the industrial culture of modern Europe, though some of it remains to complicate or defeat the newer culture.

The difference in the importance of land resources under different culture systems is easily seen. Coal was not important till power machines were invented. Petroleum lay hidden in pools deep in the earth for ages. Of no value till our time, it has now become a major source of industrial power. The use of falling water as the source of electric power is a recent development. We are justified in saying, therefore, that though the land is the basis of material civilization, it is the extent of advancement in science and industry that determines what the land is good for and how it will be used. Land is potential wealth and power. It becomes actual power only with or through the advance of knowledge of how to use it. Land is the basis; knowledge is the human instrument of its use.

How the Land Serves Us. In spite of variations in ways of living the basic needs of mankind are much the same the world over. In his recent book called *TVA—Democracy on the March*, David E. Lilienthal says, "Different . . . are the words you hear, the color of men's skins, the customs in the home and in the market. But the things the people live by are the same; the soil and the water, the rivers in their valleys, the minerals within the earth. . . . These are the foundation of all their hopes for relief from hunger, from cold, from drudgery, for an end to want and constant insecurity."¹

¹Page 2. Published by Harper and Brothers. 1944. Quoted by permission.

For our various uses there are in the land many kinds or types of resources. The soil itself is of the first importance, since food is the most urgent human need. But coal, oil, iron, copper, lead, the precious metals, and many other such resources are essential to modern production and to the support of the world's two billion people.

The forests, too, are a resource of great service. Early settlers in America found their way to the utilization of the soil blocked by thick growths of great trees. To them these forests were an obstacle rather than a useful resource. They cut and burned them in order to clear the soil for cultivation. It is only in recent times that we have repented this wholesale destruction, as we have learned the value of forests not only for their products, but as conservers of moisture, preventing the flooding of lowlands and the washing away of the soil.

America is fortunate that it is so well supplied with the most necessary resources, including vast areas of cultivable land, deposits of the most valuable minerals, as well as its still great forests. But much of its natural heritage in the land has been wasted recklessly. This phase of our problem will be described later in this chapter.

Soil and Food

Early civilizations were built upon the cultivation of the soil. They were all essentially agricultural, at least after the primitive ages in which men lived as hunters and gatherers. The Nile Valley, the Tigris-Euphrates Basin, the great river valleys of China, India, and Europe long sustained agricultural populations alone, except for scattered commercial centers for the exchange of goods.

A large part of many of the important crops which today supply us with food and clothing were developed from wild plants and animals first domesticated in those great agricul-

tural valleys and adjacent plains. Wheat was grown in early Egypt long before the Christian Era, as were rice in the Far Eastern lowlands, and peaches, pears, plums, and grapes in the orchards of early Italy. Olives were cultivated by the early Greeks, giving them an important crop for their food as well as for exchanges along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Vegetables of many kinds are of ancient origin also, while cattle, sheep, and chickens fed on the lands of Central Europe and Asia in ages so early that we do not know their beginnings. All these food and clothing sources belong to agricultural civilization and testify to its extent in time and place.

Land, as everyone knows, is of many kinds. Ordinarily land which is cultivable is of the greatest use and service. It is found in well-watered areas, such as river valleys. Pasture land is of less value, though essential for raising flocks and herds. Woodlands have always had many uses, but as far as food is concerned the value of forest lands was secondary except among hunting peoples. In all countries, too, there is much waste land, deserts or mountainous areas. It may prove of value because of mineral wealth, but is usually of little use for food production unless developed by irrigation. Japan, for example, though every foot of good soil is highly cultivated, has waste lands said to amount to a third of its land area.

Cultivation: Tradition and Science. Agricultural civilizations have improved through experience the methods of cultivating land. Until recent times, however, the tendency has been for these methods to become traditional, and to be handed down with little change from generation to generation. The Egyptians learned the value to their soil of the rich-laden waters of the Nile. They adjusted their seed-planting to the season of its overflow. The Babylonians discovered that irrigation upon man-built terraces produced large crops of fruit and other food. The Arabians learned

how to breed improved strains of horses. The Medieval Europeans discovered the importance of building up soil by rotation of crops and by periods of rest for the land.

The great advances in agriculture, however, belong to fairly recent times. These advances are not chance discoveries, but are consequences of the modern development of the natural sciences. Though every field of applied knowledge has its accumulation of traditions about how to do things, it is exact, scientific knowledge which continually modifies tradition.

Agriculture today is more and more a field of endeavor and a way of life which rests upon developing scientific knowledge. The word agriculture means land-cultivation. It rests upon and uses the sciences of soil physics and chemistry, the biological sciences of plant and animal growth, entomology and bacteriology, and the recently developed knowledge of nutrition. How to conserve and build the soil, how to control its animal enemies, how to breed better and more life-sustaining plants and to improve the breeds of cattle and sheep and hogs are all problems whose answers are to be found only through growing knowledge in natural science. Hence it is that leadership in better farming is so often found in younger men and women whose education has brought them an understanding of science basic to improved ways of using land and its resources.

What Foods? The kinds of food grown in a given region depend not only upon soil, climate, and other conditions of growth, but in part on custom. Even though better and more nutritious foods may be introduced, it is difficult to change food habits. "Popeye" urges the children to eat their spinach, but with what success is doubtful. Rice eaters use little wheat or other grains. American corn made slow progress as a food in Western Europe.

In spite, however, of the stubbornness of food habits,

knowledge of nutrition has made us aware that some foods are distinctly superior to others. New and modified foods are gradually entering our diet. Old methods of processing staple foods, such as wheat and rice, have been shown to be destructive of important food elements and are therefore being modified. This new science of nutrition is not only making us aware of the values of different foods, it is also indirectly modifying the crops which are cultivated. A recognition of the values of green vegetables and fruits leads to their being grown for the market. Similarly new crops for live stock are cultivated as their nutritional value becomes known.

The Rural Way of Life. This change in emphasis upon crops and foods is simply the application of knowledge to human uses. This is the function of all science in relation to man. But at the same time we need to remind ourselves that farming is not only applied science, it is a "way of life." Communities live together upon the land. Human relations between families and with other communities are established, as well as with the larger world of commercial and industrial urban life. These relations have a character of their own. They have traits of importance, such as a high birth rate, a great emphasis upon family unity, a high degree of conscious interdependence of families and neighborhoods, and a feeling of freedom and hope which have been real factors in the building of America. We may well ask, are these characteristics of rural social life—its "way of life"—changing under our eyes; and if so, for better or worse?

On the other hand, we need to remember that farm life is often hard, made up of long hours, heavy work, lack of conveniences, and often a degree of isolation which is a source of depression and unhappiness. Are the changes which are coming to rural life modifying these characteristics, as

well as the others just described, and if so, in the way of improvement or deterioration? For vital as is food for our needs, the associations which arise in getting food—economic, social, political, religious, educational—are of quite as great significance. Does the soil, the way we use it, and the way we are related to each other in using it result in a wholesome and self-respecting society? This we should try to find out.

Misuse of the Land

The earlier centuries of our history are a record of eager settling upon the land, but the record also reveals unbelievable waste. The vast stretches of farm land seemed unlimited in those years of settlement, while forests extended far beyond human vision or even imagination. There was always a new frontier where virgin soil waited for the settler's plow, with pasture land for unnumbered cattle or sheep. Labor was the great need.

Various land laws were passed by Congress from the period of the Revolution onward. The earlier idea was that the sale of land should become a source of revenue for the government. Later the idea that it was of greatest importance to settle the land with a population as quickly as possible came to prevail. This view was embodied in the Homestead Law of 1862, which offered 160 acres of land free to the settler who would agree to live on it for five years, making certain limited improvements.

Under this law, land was settled rapidly and the frontier moved steadily westward. In 1878 was passed the Timber and Stone Act, by which 160 acres of forest land could be obtained by a settler for \$2.50 an acre. It was easy for large corporations to advance the price to "dummy" entrymen and in this way accumulate extensive forest holdings. Moreover, prospective railroads were given millions of acres

to encourage the development of transportation. Fraud and bribery played an unfortunately large part in the passing of the public lands into private ownership.

Soil Exhaustion. The abundance of land led to its waste. This was true of soil, forests, and mineral resources. Consider the facts of soil waste. Plants find their food in the soil, but it is only the topsoil, usually not many inches deep, which contains these life-giving elements. Cultivating the soil for crops soon destroys its value; fertilizers must be used to restore the chemical properties needed for growth. But soil exhaustion was not a fact of importance in the mind of the early settler. He knew—or thought he knew—that there was always more land. If his land became less productive he moved farther west to new land.

The first misuse of land was, therefore, exhaustion of the soil. Land is never unlimited either in extent or in continued productiveness. The time came, inevitably, in the nineteenth century, when we began to realize this fact. New cultivable land became scarce and finally ceased to exist. In 1935 the right to take up land under the Homestead Law was withdrawn. At the time of its passage in 1862 the public land totaled 1,400,000,000 acres. By 1935 there remained only 165,000,000 acres of public land and this was unsuited for cultivation or settlement. Out of this remnant was gradually created by the federal government a system of public national parks and grazing areas.

But not merely was there no more cultivable land in public hands. The land of the people of the United States had deteriorated ominously in its soil value. Soil fertility had not been restored, so that much land that was once rich is no longer fit for cultivation.

Soil Erosion. Of even greater harm to the soil than using up the chemical elements needed for plant food are the wasteful practices which lead to soil erosion. The term erosion

means the wearing away or removal of the topsoil upon which growth depends. This may be caused by water or by wind. In the great treeless plains of the Middle West, dust storms have again and again swept the soil from a vast acreage of land, leaving it bare and worthless for cultivation. Of even greater harm are rainstorms flooding the land, carrying away the soil, and cutting deep gullies which render cultivation impossible or nearly so.

A government soil survey made in 1934 of all the land in the United States, reports that soil erosion has destroyed for human use 57 million acres of once cultivable land, and on 225 million acres erosion has swept away more than three-fourths of the topsoil. Of the 415 million acres of cropland, even today 61 percent is being eroded or is of such poor fertility as not to bring a reasonable income to the families cultivating it. Better methods of cultivation, however, would so improve the condition of this land as to bring a suitable return from more than 80 percent of it. It is estimated that with the usual present methods of cultivation 3,000,000,000 tons of soil are annually blown away or washed into streams, lakes, or other places.

Forest Waste Forests play an important part in protecting soil from destruction by erosion. Rainfall is held in the forest land, where it runs off slowly, letting the soil absorb the moisture. The wholesale cutting of forests for lumber destroys the land's protective cover, so that rain sweeps down valleys, carrying off soil and creating floods which overrun crops and homes. The difficult problem of flood control is, therefore, in part a problem of soil protection as well as one of saving other property and many lives.

There is also the problem of the waste of timber resources in connection with commercial activities. In earlier years forests were cleared for farms and the trees were burned. Later, large commercial lumber companies were able to se-

cure extensive timberlands from which they cut recklessly over millions of acres, wasting much as they hurried, and without replanting young trees to replace the old ones. It is estimated that almost half the original acreage of timber of the United States has been cut away.

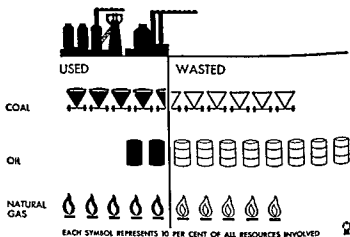
Today the commercial timber resources of the United States cover about 462 million acres. Some 200 million acres of this total are operated by private concerns for commercial purposes. Due to the widespread interest in forest conservation and the development of scientific methods, some of this forest land is being carefully cut over and replanted to assure a future supply. Much of it is still being ruthlessly "mined," however, without regard to the welfare of future generations. Meanwhile, our forest requirements continue to be over twice as much each year as the estimated annual growth.

For almost half a century the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture has carried on a struggle to improve forestry methods and conserve this resource. It has fought fires, plant diseases, and insect pests and advised private interests on cutting and reforestation. The federal government now owns and operates by scientific methods well over 100 million acres of forest land, in addition to national parks and other holdings. Due to the urgent necessity for planning in the use of forest resources, the Forest Service has repeatedly recommended that federal and state ownership and operation be greatly increased. This proposal has been fought bitterly by various commercial interests.

Waste of Mineral Resources. Soil can usually be restored to fertility and forests replanted, though improvement in both cases is slow. But the mineral resources yielded by the land are irreplaceable. Though we realize this fact, and know that minerals are vital to industry, they, too, have been recklessly wasted.

The Second World War brought realization to Americans of the extent to which ours is a mineral civilization. Unprecedented demands for industrial production emphasized shortages of such products as tin, nickel, tungsten, man-

USE AND WASTE OF RESOURCES



From *Social Studies Book Three* by Herbert B. Bruner & C. Mabel Smith
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Search the references for information which will enable you to enlarge this pictogram to include other resources

ganese, and mercury. Even more important, it made us aware of the prodigal manner in which we are using coal, iron, petroleum, copper, lead, and other minerals of which we once possessed vast supplies.

The movement for conservation of mineral resources has gained momentum as indications of exhaustion have appeared and as costs of production have increased. We see this illustrated in the case of mineral fuels, coal and petroleum. The coal-mining industry has been so highly competi-

tive that companies have adopted many uneconomic practices that might otherwise have been avoided. Wastes in some instances have been from 50 to 150 percent of the coal marketed. This waste has been somewhat reduced by improved mining methods and by advances made in converting coal into heat and power. Government supervision of coal mining has been aimed at bringing order to the industry and promoting more economical mining and consumption.

Petroleum likewise has been exploited for quick profit by wasteful methods. Poor equipment, unscientific methods, overcrowded wells, and wells abandoned when production declined have all contributed to loss. There have been conspicuous wastes in consumption, too, as automobiles have increased in number. War years, when American wells supplied a large part of the gasoline and oil for all United Nations forces, further depleted our dwindling reserves. Experts warn us that we are apt to have an extreme shortage of this resource in a short time unless new fields are discovered or petroleum substitutes are developed and used.

Because of the great importance of this resource to industrial civilization, there is great danger that new fields in undeveloped areas may become the objects of international rivalries which may lead to future wars.

The Problem of Water Power. The creation of hydroelectric power at damsites on river falls is a development of comparatively recent time. Such projects afford not only power for lighting and industrial uses, but also provide water for irrigation in some areas and aid flood control in others. In earlier years many of the most valuable powersites fell into the hands of private corporations. They were able to develop monopolies in certain areas and to charge exorbitant prices for current. Proposals for the public development of power they fought by campaigns of propaganda and legislative lobbying (see Chapters 9 and 11).

In recent years, however, there have been important developments in the production of cheap hydroelectric power at public expense. The federal government has constructed such great powersites as Boulder Dam, Grand Coulee, Bonneville, and those of the Tennessee Valley. The Federal Power Commission, created in 1920 and reorganized in 1930, now has control over powersites on navigable streams and regulates companies which transmit power across state lines. It also issues licenses to private companies, states, and cities, giving them the power to construct and operate projects on government property under suitable restrictions.

The United States Geological Survey has estimated the available water power of the United States at 38 million horsepower, of which less than half has been developed. There are many persons who believe that the creation of more powersites at public expense would aid industry and help to raise the standards of living in many areas of the country. Others argue that the best sites have been developed and that the new plans proposed are of questionable value. Because hydroelectric power has been so tremendously profitable, certain utility and financial interests are apt to fight vigorously all proposals for extension of public activity. We shall have more to say on the subject of power development later in the chapter.

All in all, we must face the fact that our rich heritage of resources in soil and land and water has been thoughtlessly used and abused, leaving us much poorer today in the basic elements upon which every people builds its life. Some persons believe that no great harm has been done, and argue that an owner has the right to do as he pleases with his land. Others reply that ownership is conditional only. The welfare of all must be considered, and future generations also have a right to consideration in public policy.

Land Policy: Past and Future

Though we have already pointed out factors which influenced the use and abuse of land in America's past, let us summarize them briefly as a basis upon which to discuss the question of a public land policy. Three important features stand out prominently. The first is that rich land was abundant till near the present century. Add to that the fact that a large percentage of those who migrated to America during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even the nineteenth centuries came from semifeudal nations of Europe. They were eager to escape those outworn conditions, under which life was harsh and the opportunity to advance was rare, in order to own land freely in this new world. And third, we must realize that both the abundance of land and the pioneer life with its newborn freedom brought about an exaggerated individualism that was often ruthless, being dominated by the competitive desire to win wealth at whatever cost to others.

Consider these facts together in reference to any public land policy, and it is not difficult to realize why such a policy was so slow in appearing. The objectives or aims of a public land policy would have to grow out of consideration for the permanent or long-time needs of the country as a whole. A policy must recognize that the entire population, future as well as present, has an interest in the land as the basis of its life. Yet it was just such a consideration as this that the extreme individualism of our population made us unwilling to accept. We were not sufficiently united, consciously, to recognize and guard the economic foundation of our society.

Objectives of Public Policy. Once we recognize the land as the economic basis of a united community life, we face definitely the problem of what aims a public land policy should contain or express. The following suggestions are offered by various students of land problems. They are presented

here for consideration rather than with the thought that they cover the entire problem or are of equal significance

(1) Regularity of production of supplies of food which can be sold at stable and profitable prices would be very desirable. Can governmental aid be used to maintain stability of production and prices? Much of our agricultural history in the present century has to do with this problem.

(2) A public land policy might wisely recognize that there are many varieties of soil and try to have farmers settle only upon tillable land of good quality, reserving other land for purposes of pasture or for whatever it might best be used. In other words, the government might control the use and the settlement of land. If it is said that this remedy is now too late, since land is already privately owned, it is replied that the government might hold such poorer lands as revert to it because of the owners' failure to pay taxes, and refuse permission to new settlers to farm those areas which are unfit for cultivation. In this way a part of farm poverty could be avoided. Such a policy in the past would have prevented much of the misery resulting from settling upon unsuitable land.

(3) A public land policy should, it is held, consider carefully the facts and conditions of land tenure. It must do this if we wish to prevent the growth of a peasant class on the land, a class made up of tenants of large (often absentee) landholders. Such tenants are usually insecure sharecroppers or others trying to make a living on too small an acreage. (4) Some persons urge that great landholdings be broken up into family-size farms wherever the soil is of good quality. The object would be to provide more equal opportunity to live upon the land. (5) Some think, too, that this program would have a greater chance of success if government would encourage cooperation among small farmers in the sale of products, the joint use of expensive machinery, the purchase

of supplies, the providing of credit, and other ways which experience might suggest.

Such aims of a public land policy are cited to suggest the difference between a purely private interest in the land and a policy which recognizes public interest and the general welfare. (6) The objectives proposed would lead at once to still another development, which is the increase of good land by irrigation of desert or semidesert soil. Irrigation would accomplish two things: it would enlarge the acreage suitable for cultivation, and it would increase water power by building huge dams, such as Boulder and Grand Coulee. Storage reservoirs would be created to hold water for use as needed instead of permitting floods to destroy farms and cities.

The reader will recognize that parts of a public policy, as suggested above, have already been put into effect. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the nation began to realize that a purely private interest policy in regard to the land had permitted the soil to be mined of its fertility or washed and blown away. It had made it possible for mineral and forest resources to be held by great corporations, which controlled iron, copper, coal, oil, aluminum clay, and natural sites for water power and electrical development. Many of America's great fortunes had been created out of such private control of the land.

The Conservation Movement. It was the calling of the first conservation conference by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908 that fully aroused public consciousness of the situation. What became known as the Conservation Movement was, in effect, a beginning of a public land policy. Opposition to conservation was vigorous and strong. The effort of government to set aside what remained of public land as forest or grazing reserves and public national parks was attacked by various private interests. However, the program of conservation is itself a growth of experience. Con-

servationists do not, as a rule, oppose private land ownership, but they assert the wisdom of control over the use of land in the interest of the people as a whole. Land should be used, but it can and should be preserved from destruction. Waste, exhaustion, decay ought to be prevented as far as possible. Restoration of land fertility, reclamation of arid lands by irrigation, reforestation of cut-over timber areas, controlled use of mineral resources, public development of water power for electricity—these are the standard demands of conservation policy. But conservation is clearly only part of a general land policy. The economic problems of land tenure, rural labor, taxation, and the balance of agriculture and industry are important economic features of general land policy but are not parts of the conservation program.

TVA and Regional Development. Much progress has been made since the first conservation conference on various parts of a program for better use of the land. Laws have been passed, bureaus established for special needs, researches undertaken to get the facts, and the public informed. The federal Department of Agriculture has played an important part in this movement. In particular it has studied soil erosion and has brought to public attention the waste of soil and means of preventing it.

One of the most inclusive long-time developments in the field of public land policy was the establishment by Congress in 1933 of the Tennessee Valley Authority. It was planned as an experiment in the democratic development and use of the resources of a great natural region—the Tennessee River Valley or drainage basin. There is perhaps no better way to make clear the meaning and need of a broad public land policy than to describe briefly the work of this important regional organization, commonly called the TVA.

The idea behind the law which created the Tennessee Valley Authority is that natural regions are not limited by

artificial state boundaries. A natural region is an area whose features are so related to one another that it can serve man best if they are developed together as a unit. Soil, water, forests, mineral resources are not completely separate, to be controlled and developed by separate and perhaps conflicting plans and agencies. They are closely related in nature and consequently their development should be carried out in a single unitary plan and by a single controlling agency.

The law of 1933, therefore, created a government corporation with a Board of Directors to plan and to carry forward the development of the Tennessee Valley region. The corporation was instructed to use existing local and state agencies for its work so that the people of the region would themselves share in the undertaking. The corporation was not limited to any one phase of development, such as water-power or river navigation. It was directed to consider all the important resources and their uses. Here was a task in which government and nature assisted by local agencies would work in harmony for the benefit of the people.

In his recent book, David E. Lilienthal, Chairman of the Authority, describes the essentials of the regional development idea as:

1. a federal autonomous agency, with authority to make its decisions in the region
2. —responsibility to deal with resources as a unified whole, clearly fixed in the regional agency, not divided among several centralized federal agencies
3. —a policy, fixed by law, that the federal regional agency work cooperatively with and through local and state agencies.²

Let us examine briefly what has been undertaken and accomplished by the TVA. The area involved is the valley

²*Op. cit.*, p. 153.

and watershed of the Tennessee River, a region described as equal in size to England and Scotland. The river itself, from Knoxville to its mouth, is 650 miles long and was formerly navigable only in part in seasons of heavy rainfall. The population of the region is approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ million. It is a naturally fertile, well-watered region whose soil has lost much of its fertility through erosion and bad cultivation. Its original forest wealth has been cut recklessly. But its mineral resources are varied and of great value, and its water-power possibilities are great. The river itself is fed by many tributary streams.

The federal corporation (TVA) began its work by a careful survey of all the resources of the region and their existing condition. Its programs of development included (1) restoration of the soil by building up depleted fertility and overcoming the waste of erosion. In this undertaking it has the cooperation of federal and state agricultural agencies. There is no compulsion put upon farmers, but by educational means they have been encouraged to take the necessary measures involved in better farming. As a consequence, farm products have increased steadily in volume and better live stock has been placed on pastures. Cooperation in using agricultural knowledge, in the use of machines and seed, and in the sale of products has become a basis for further progress. Many local cooperative organizations have been created, some quite large, with several thousand members and investments of from one to two million dollars.

Other important developments which have been undertaken include (2) the improvement of the river for navigation, (3) the construction of huge dams and large reservoirs or lakes for flood control, (4) the use of stored water for irrigation of waste dry land, (5) the development of electric power to run new industrial factories and to electrify the thousands of farms in the entire valley, and (6) a survey

and development of the large variety of mineral resources, such as coal, iron, oil, phosphate, aluminum, and others.

Today the river is navigable for its entire 650 miles of length. Upon it large boats carry the agricultural products of the valley and also various manufactured products. Sixteen large dams have been built, in addition to five smaller ones, to control the waters of the river and its tributary streams. Behind these dams are man-made lakes covering 175,000 acres of land, with trees growing rapidly about their shores. A single telephone communication control over all the dams provides for holding back heavy rainfall in the lakes and releasing it as required. Floods are no longer a problem in this region of plentiful rains and storms.

The flow of water at the dams is used to create enormous electric power which is now distributed throughout the valley. Cheap power has brought many factories already, while farms and towns are well supplied with electricity for lighting, cooking, refrigeration, and operating farm machines.

Moreover, (7) cut-over forest lands are being replanted, and (8) undeveloped land is being reclaimed by irrigation. There is a rising standard of living throughout an area once known for its low standard and general backwardness. Seven states share the region as a whole, all profiting from the unified development of this regional unit.

Leaders in other natural regions have observed the success of TVA and are considering similar programs of development. One of the largest is the Missouri River region in which nine states share, and which serves some seven million people. How soon a Missouri Valley Authority may be created by Congress is uncertain, but it seems altogether probable that it will come in time. The Columbia River in the Pacific Northwest provides another natural region. It is already partially developed by the Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams, but a single federal corporation for all phases of

development has not yet been established. Several other regional areas, such as the Arkansas River Valley and the great St. Lawrence River Highway to the Atlantic have their advocates.

This very brief account of our first experiment in regional development is enough to show what an important part it is of a public land policy. It is, also, in its form and its activity, democratic both in purpose and in the community participation which it uses and encourages.

Land Tenure Who Owns the Land?

The Homestead Law of 1862 speeded the settlement of land in the United States. Westward from the Atlantic seaboard people streamed across the country hoping to find a foothold and an opportunity as landowners to move up the ladder of social position. What has happened to this dream? We well may ask this question, because by the time free land disappeared and the Homestead Act was withdrawn in 1935 the real rural picture was something very different from the dream. Who are now the owners of the rural empire which was given away earlier? Is it owned by the farmers who till the soil? In 1890 farmers owned 59 percent of all farms, by 1930 farm ownership by those who actually farmed had fallen to 42 percent.

To understand this somewhat startling fact, we need to relate farming as a way of life to the trend of change in the industrial system as a whole.

Machines Modify the Position of Agriculture The introduction of machinery in all types of production changed the economic position of agriculture in relation to urban industry. Food is the major product of the soil, and it fills the basic need of human life. But the food want is not elastic, it does not expand indefinitely as greater quantities are

produced. On the other hand, wants which look beyond basic necessities—such as recreation, mechanical conveniences, ornament, education, travel—expand indefinitely as the means to satisfy them grow. The goods manufactured in urban industries appeal to these indefinite and unlimited wants. The result of this difference between farming and industry is that rural population tends to grow more slowly than city population. The demand for labor in industry expands, while in agriculture this demand increases only slowly, if at all. In 1870 one-half of our population lived by farming; in 1940 the proportion had fallen to one-fourth or less.

The general use of machinery, moreover, changed farm methods as well as urban industrial methods. Less labor is required in farming when machines are used. To produce a bushel of wheat required in 1910 twice the manpower necessary in 1930. The surplus rural labor released by machines moved cityward.

Agriculture in America, a century ago, was either plantation farming by means of slave labor in the South or family farming in the North. The Homestead Act was planned with reference to family farming, labor being supplied by the family and the sustenance of the family on its own products being a first consideration. The introduction of farm machines changed the situation greatly. Farming for family sustenance gave way to commercial farming for profit. This increased the use of machines, but machines are expensive. At the same time, the scarcity of land increased its cost also. Ownership required much more capital, therefore.

The larger relative return on farms using machines enabled prosperous owners to buy farm after farm. They often consolidated the land into great estates, using machines for cultivation, with hired labor for periods of special need such as harvest time. Or such owners, particularly in the South at first, and later in the Middle West, rented blocks of land

to tenants either for cash or more often for a share of the crop, the owner dictating the crop and conditions governing it

Tenants and Owners. Facts such as these must be kept in mind in trying to understand why the hope of owning land has been so often disappointed in recent years. The growth of farm tenancy in the place of ownership has been a steady and continuous fact in agriculture. Though this has been especially true of certain sections of the South, the condition prevails to some extent all over the country. In the Southern Cotton Belt the type of tenancy known as sharecropping is usual. Forty percent of the farms of that great area are farmed by sharecroppers. A similar trend toward tenancy, on either crop-share or cash-rental basis, has come to prevail more recently in the rich farming area of the Middle West. In Iowa and Illinois farm ownership by actual farmers was found to apply to only 30 percent of farms in 1930.

The burden of debt is another phase of this changing situation. Farm owners are apt to be in need of money to move their crops, or for other heavy financial demands. This leads to borrowing from banks and investment institutions at high interest rates. In periods of poor crops or business depression the borrower often is unable to repay loans and so loses his farm. In the years of depression from 1930 to 1935, 750,000 farms were foreclosed for debt by banks and other financial concerns. Many of these farms were soon rented to tenants, increasing the proportion of tenant farms.

Tenant farming, particularly of the sharecropper type, has tended definitely to misuse of the land. Rent contracts are usually for only a year's duration, with the consequence that the tenant is not interested in the upkeep of buildings or the preservation of soil fertility. His aim is to get from the land all he can, with as little expense as possible. Any

improvements which he might make belong to the owner, not the tenant. Hence tenant farms tend to become poor farming land, with run-down buildings and fences.

Tenants, many observers believe, do not show an interest in rural community life or institutions. They are continually moving from place to place, and therefore the local church or school or farm-cooperative cannot count on their support. In tenant areas schools are apt to be poor, school terms short, and equipment lacking. The hopeful, progressive spirit often found in the better rural areas is not evident.

A theory of tenantry which at one time was held quite widely is that tenancy in agriculture is simply a first step toward ownership. It is the period during which young farmers gain knowledge and experience in farming, and during which they accumulate savings to become owners. This was known as the "ladder theory," the idea being that one moved upward regularly from tenancy to ownership.

Though the ladder-climbing theory is true now and then, in general the facts disprove it. On the whole, there are more farm owners who become tenants than tenants who become farm owners. Many tenants are not young men, but old men who have been tenants for long periods and seem to have given up hope of becoming owners. Often, too, it is found that large numbers of tenant farmers give up tenancy to take the position of farm wage earners with no hold on the land. About one-fourth of those gainfully employed in agriculture are laborers for wages.

Absentee owning of land is very common. It lends itself to tenant tenure and to the employment of workers for wages. The latter trend seems to be gaining now at the expense of tenancy, as large-scale farming grows. Corporations, city business and professional men, and other investors own farms which they rent to tenants or have them managed by someone employed on salary. In cases of this kind neither

owners nor tenants nor laborers are apt to have any interest in rural community life. Farming becomes simply a commercial enterprise.

Rural Poverty It is usual to think of poverty as connected with congested city slums, but poverty is widespread and general. Rural life has its slums, its indecent housing, its high rates of sickness and death, its ignorance, and its degradation.

Especially is poverty a phase of share-crop tenancy. Rural wage labor, whether stationary or migratory, is also usually close to bare subsistence. The lower levels of annual income among sharecroppers are reported to be from \$40 to \$90 per person or from \$200 to \$500 for an average family. Wage earners often earn even less than these amounts. Conditions of housing are very poor for tenants, conveniences being few or lacking entirely, while migratory wage labor lives, in most sections, in the cheapest and rudest shacks. Even food is apt to be inadequate and unsuitable to maintain minimum health standards. Only recently has there appeared any general interest in rural poverty and its possible alleviation. The far better living conditions existing in the area of the TVA development are suggestive of the improvements which are reasonably possible.

In 1937 a report by a committee of economists—known as the President's Committee Report—recommended that tenant contracts should be made for longer periods than a single year, and that payment to the tenant should be made for farm improvements undertaken by him. The Committee also recommended that taxation of farms be so modified as to encourage rather than discourage ownership, and that legal provision be made to guard the personal rights of tenants and wage labor. This report led to the establishment of the Farm Security Administration. Among other duties this governmental agency was to buy lands and resell them

to poor farm families selected as likely to prove efficient if given opportunity. Long-time payments at low interest rates were provided. Cooperation in the use of machines and the purchase of supplies was to be encouraged. Guidance and aid by agricultural experts were to be arranged.

This program, though meeting with vigorous opposition from interests which objected to government projects in general, was getting well started when it was interrupted by the Second World War. To many observers of our rural population it seemed to be an experiment that might eventually lead to great improvement.

A Balance between Agriculture and Industry

We have noted already the trend of population movement from farms to urban industries as a marked feature of modern civilization. Though from time to time the trend is reversed temporarily, in the long run the cityward trend continues wherever technology concentrates labor and commerce. This population migration indicates a lack of balance between the two main productive activities of economic life—the agricultural and the manufacturing industrial activities.

What Prevents? By a lack of balance is meant that there is a tendency for one type of production to gain in wealth and power at the expense of the other. Agricultural production supplies food and basic materials for industry. Reversing the situation, finished goods for consumption and for further agricultural production are sold to farmers by urban industry. Is the exchange a fair one as represented in prices, or does one side profit at the expense of the other? Except in time of war, farmers insist that agriculture *pays* too high a price for what it buys and receives too low a price for what it sells.

Certain conditions in business as a whole seem to justify their contention. The difference between industrial organization and agricultural organization throws light on the situation. As we have noted in previous chapters, especially Chapter 5, industry is largely controlled by a small number of great corporations. On the other hand, agricultural production is engaged in by millions of independent individual farmers. As a consequence, competition in industry is either reduced or entirely eliminated, so that total production can be controlled and a profitable price maintained. But the large number of individual farmers prevents them from taking unified action. Competition between or among them leads to as full production as possible and, consequently, to lowering of prices. This difference is important enough to justify careful examination. Is it a true account of the exchange situation?

There are other factors which are held to affect the balance unfavorably for agriculture. Protective tariffs are one such factor, the land tax system or general property tax is another. For illustration, steel manufacturers are heavily protected by a tariff which limits or prevents foreign competitors from selling in our markets. The manufacture of steel products—among them farm machines, wire fencing, and other goods for farm use—is a large mass-production industry controlled by a very few managers. Prices for products are easily controlled by the industry at relatively high levels.

In contrast, farm products are, as we have said, highly competitive, in spite of a tariff on, for example, wheat. A rise in the price of wheat (which might be expected from a tariff) simply induces farmers to plant more, even on poorer land, for though the yield is small the higher price makes the return seem worth while. This increases the total yield of wheat and forces prices down, since demand has not



photograph from The California Fruit Growers Exchange

COOPERATION OF CITRUS GROWERS IN CALIFORNIA

Through cooperation citrus growers have increased their production 2500 percent in fifty years.
The shipping and marketing of the fruit is also done on a cooperative basis.

risen, the result is that the wheatgrowers are not benefited by the tariff. The general situation is, therefore, that agriculture is not helped by a protective tariff on crops. But high tariffs in industry help to bring about industrial combinations by removing competition, thereby raising prices of products sold to farmers. The balance of exchange is tipped against agriculture.

The general property tax also bears heavily upon farming. It is an old and outmoded system of taxation. Farm wealth consists mainly of land, buildings, cattle, and machines. These can be seen and can be assessed and taxed easily. On the other hand, urban values, often in stocks and bonds and other not plainly evident forms of wealth, may easily escape a property tax. In paying a general property tax, agriculture pays much more heavily in comparison than does urban wealth. Tax experts have long agreed that the general property tax is inequitable and should be abolished.

These conditions are factors in the general tendency, it is asserted, for urban business and industry to profit at the expense of agriculture. Farmers have therefore, attempted to bring pressure upon government for relief, just as organized labor has done. Labor unions, farm blocs, and business associations have all become familiar "pressure groups" in the effort to obtain favorable legislation (see Chapter 10). In this struggle it is difficult for farmers to get united action because of the large numbers of persons who must be reached.

Cooperation in Agriculture One effort which farmers themselves have made to improve their relative position is by organizing cooperative associations. Usually these have been for the purpose of the sale of single commodities, such as citrus fruit, apples, or dairy products. Some are consumer cooperatives, for the purchase of goods for the use of members. Now and then, too, these have become, as well, credit

concerns to provide loans for their members, or insurance cooperatives.

The cooperative movement in Europe started in the last century in England and Scotland, not in agriculture but among city laborers. Later it spread all over Europe. At first and mainly, as in England, it was a purely consumers' cooperative undertaking. But it attained later great success in agricultural production in Denmark and Sweden and elsewhere. Danish cooperatives supplied London with three-fourths of the butter used there before the Second World War. Sweden's rural economy was at the same time well geared to cooperation. Much of the organization of cooperatives, however, was destroyed in the Second World War.

The rural cooperative movement was very late in starting in America, but it has grown rapidly in the past twenty-five years. The California Fruit Growers' Exchange is an illustration of large-scale cooperative selling of citrus fruit. In 1939 citrus fruit valued at \$103,000,000 was shipped for sale by this cooperative. Thirteen thousand producers shared in this united effort. Most of the olives of California and a large part of its deciduous fruits and nuts are also handled in the same way. In certain other states the movement is equally well developed. It is vigorously opposed by those who fear its competition with their own business enterprise, but its success has established it firmly.

This Land of Ours: A Review

At this point it would be well to summarize briefly the principal conclusions which we have reached as this discussion has developed:

1. The land of the United States has become poorer over the decades. Part of it is now worthless, but much of the soil can be reclaimed.

- 2 There has been an inexcusable waste of timber and of mineral resources which can never be replaced
- 3 Water-power development affords hope of great benefits for both agriculture and industry Regional planning and development are an outgrowth of conservation and water-power enterprises
- 4 Tenants—often sharecroppers—are displacing farm owners
- 5 Farms are increasing in size and are managed as commercial investments, frequently for absentee owners
- 6 There is an increase in farm wage-labor, much of it migratory, involving serious poverty
- 7 The older rural life and institutions are tending to decline
- 8 New developments in electrification of farm homes and farm industry are taking place

The discussion in this chapter is far from a complete summary of our land conditions and problems, but it brings home to us their basic importance. Out of the land has developed our great industrial system, our cities, and all the undertakings which have brought wealth and power. Upon the way we use the land hereafter our hopes for high living standards and a healthy and independent people largely rest. Can we preserve the soil for better use? Can we rebuild its ruined acres? Shall we be able to assure to the rural population the stability of life and property which makes farming a desirable way of life? Can we so regulate the use of resources that they will continue in future generations to form the economic foundations of a truly democratic society?

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

- 1 Ask small committees of class members to prepare bulletin-board displays of pictures, cartoons, and clippings relating to each of the following subjects

Hydroelectric Power Development	Fuel-Saving Inventions
Reforestation Projects	TVA
Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dams	Farm Cooperatives

2. See what information you can find on the changing food habits of the American people. Do such changes differ by regions? How are the changes apt to affect farming?
3. What methods are used to combat soil erosion? (Consult the Yearbooks of the Department of Agriculture.)
4. What are the principal causes of the "dust bowl" storms? What are some of the human consequences?
5. The Homestead Act gave the settler 160 acres of land. Why this amount? Were diversities in types of land taken into consideration?
6. Why were the railroads given so much land during the years following the Civil War? What did they do with it?
7. Why did sharecropping tenancy start in the Cotton Belt?
8. Why has the standard of living of coal miners tended to be low? Are there too many mines? State the arguments for and against more rigid government control of coal mining.
9. Ask members of the class to prepare reports on the development of the cooperative movement in Sweden and Denmark.
10. How would an increase in farm income benefit industry?
11. Would an increase in the income of city workers benefit farming?
12. Show how improved transportation has influenced the consumption of agricultural products in your community.
13. Is TVA, the corporation, a good example of government bureaucracy? Why or why not? (You cannot answer this question offhand.)
14. Why is oil often spoken of as a principal object of struggle in international politics? Where are the great oil fields of the world?

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CHAPTER 9

SHAM BATTLES OR BASIC REFORM? THE PARTIES

- I. THE NATURE OF PARTIES
 - 1. What Are the Parties?
 - 2. How Parties Developed
 - 3. Evolution of American Political Parties
 - 4. Services of the Parties
 - 5. Parties Are Tools
 - 6. Ground for Criticism
 - II. PARTY ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE
 - 1. Party Committees
 - 2. The National Convention
 - 3. Financing the Parties
 - 4. Sources of Funds
 - 5. Reform in Party Finance
 - III. CAMPAIGN METHODS
 - 1. Campaign Objectives
 - 2. Conduct of the Campaign
 - IV. SHAM BATTLES OR BASIC REFORM?
 - 1. Machines and Spoils
 - 2. Submission to Cliques and Bosses
 - 3. Influence of Special Interests
 - 4. In Defense of the Parties
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In the confusion of modern problems what agency has the citizen for the expression of approval or disapproval of the acts of government? Democracy requires that we have ways of selecting representatives and finding out majority opin-

ions at intervals. We must have referenda on men and measures. There must be means of expressing opinion by joint action.

The traditional agencies for such purposes are the political parties. They are the only organizations, nation-wide in scope, of which the public can demand action on many current problems.

It is, therefore, important to inquire into the nature of our present parties and reflect upon the manner in which they discharge their job.

The Nature of Parties

What Are the Parties? The classic definition of a political party was given many years ago by the British statesman, Edmund Burke. Said he, "A party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed." Had Burke intended this statement to explain how parties begin it would be more accurate. Parties originate in disagreement, and their founders are usually united on some principle or principles which they think will promote the general welfare. Our present-day Democrats began as the party of farmers, workers, and frontiersmen, committed to extension of the suffrage and to keeping government close to the people. The Republicans originated as the humanitarian party, defending the welfare of Southern bondsmen and Northern free labor against the slavery interests which strove to dominate the Union.

But idealism alone cannot unite a major party under modern conditions. Idealists are usually in the minority, and a party must unite a majority to win elections and put its policies into effect. Thus the Republican party, though it began in protest against slavery, soon made a bid for the



Photograph by Acme

ROOSEVELT IS RENOMINATED

Interest centers every four years in the proceedings of the national conventions.

support of many groups by advocating cheap land for Western settlers, a high tariff to please Eastern manufacturers, and railroads and other internal improvements. Time brings change of issues, too, but meanwhile a successful party develops an organization. Leaders of the organization look about for issues which will have sufficient popular appeal to unite large numbers of people and enable the party to stay in power.

The minor parties differ from the major parties in this regard. They usually have small organizations which are held together by a group of related principles, cemented perhaps by class bias. This is one reason why their total vote is light. The value of such groups, as we saw in Chapter 4, lies not in their vote but in their services as propaganda groups and educational agencies.

The huge size of the electorate and the many groups and interests of society today have made the major parties agencies of compromise. Each of the special-interest groups—farmers, laborers, bankers, manufacturers, etc.—is interested chiefly in advancing some one line of policy, whatever course serves it best. No party can win with the support of only one or two of these, so party leaders must seek common ground upon which various groups can be temporarily united. The composition of the major parties today illustrates this point. The Democrats, for instance, are supported by industrial workers of the East and West and by farmers of the South. Northern Negroes and Southern whites unite their votes for the party's candidates. Protestant sects of the Middle West combine their voting strength with Catholics living in New York. In a similar way, the Republican party unites farming, industrial, laboring, sectional, racial, and religious groups.

The ground for compromise and temporary unity within our major parties is found in the fact that neither advocates

any basic change in our form of government. Both profess loyalty to democratic ideals and representative institutions. Each claims to want to extend popular control of government and to serve the general welfare. Nor does either party advocate fundamental changes in our methods of holding property. Party contests, therefore, turn on claims as to which party has the most able leadership and which is best able to advance the welfare of all groups without altering our traditional institutions. In such circumstances, party leaders and candidates are apt to fear taking a forthright stand on controversial issues. Hence, platforms and campaigns call forth considerable ingenuity in an effort to appear bold and constructive while evading all but the most vague expressions of policy.

Such considerations lead us to the conclusion that the greatest practical importance of our parties today arises from their efforts to control the personnel and the policies of government. Parties exist to elect men to office. The principles which they profess and the services they render are incidental to this main purpose, and certainly the parties are usually far from united on a "particular principle" or a common idea of what constitutes the "national interest," as Burke mistakenly assumed.

How Parties Developed. The political party, as it exists today in the United States and parts of Europe, developed side by side with the growth of representative institutions and their control, by the voters. As the suffrage has been extended to the masses, it has become increasingly necessary to reach large numbers of people. Parties have become steadily more influential as means of organizing public opinion and governmental machinery.

In the United States parties are as old as the nation itself. Indeed, it may be stated that their origin predated the adoption of the Constitution. Party names have changed,

new parties have come into being, and older ones have died. But political differences among groups and individuals have always existed.

Considering the history of the world as a whole, the political party is a new form of organization. Small primitive communities had no need for parties. Their problems were local in nature and relatively simple. The "divine right" monarchies of Europe tolerated little political thought on the part of their subjects. Control was imposed from above, popular opinion was discouraged, and the individual rights of all except the privileged classes were ignored. When factional differences arose within the controlling aristocracy, they were settled by fighting. There simply was no place for organized parties because there were no representative systems.

How can the appearance of parties in America, even before the formulation of our governmental pattern, be explained? Our federal Constitution makes no mention of political parties. In fact, many men of the generation which founded the nation feared the influence of party strife. In his farewell address, President Washington said, "Let me

warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally." A few leaders of the time were seriously concerned that political thought and action not be stirred up among the people, considering them untrained in the problems of government. The framers of the Constitution distrusted parties. They considered them organs of factionalism and violence. Why did they appear under these circumstances?

Partisanship appeared in a limited form some years before the Revolutionary War. Frontiersmen and small landholders opposed the control which the plantation holders of the South and the merchant classes of New England exercised in colonial government. Also, the issue of colonial in-

dependence was partisan in nature. The Tories were loyal to England while the Whigs supported the Revolution and national independence. The Whigs were the radicals of the time and eventually won their struggle. At the close of the war, many Tories emigrated to Canada.

The Constitutional Convention was split into two factions: the Federalists, who favored a strong central government, and the Anti-Federalists, who wished the states to retain most of the governmental powers. The opinions of the leaders of these groups influenced thought throughout the country.

Evolution of American Political Parties. The history of party movements in the United States may be divided roughly into three periods. From 1789 until about 1820 the Federalists and Anti-Federalists or Democratic-Republicans, dominated the scene. The principal issue between the two was over the extent of federal authority.

The Federalists represented principally the merchant classes of the East. While in office they established the national bank, funded both national and state debts, and imposed import duties, all of which encouraged and protected commercial interests. The Anti-Federalists, later known as the Democratic-Republican party, led by Thomas Jefferson, upheld chiefly the views of farm and frontier groups. Jefferson and his followers believed in a strict interpretation of the Constitution, in order to protect states' rights and develop strong local government. The Federalists owed their early success to economic power and traditional influence rather than to numbers. Always a minority, they rapidly declined in power against the surge of the farmers, mechanics, and tradesmen who swept Jefferson into the Presidency in 1800.

A short period of harmony within the dominant Democratic-Republican ranks preceded a new period of extreme partisanship. By 1824 conflicting views and personal am-

bitions had split the party into two opposing groups. Democratic President Andrew Jackson alienated the commercial interests of the East, and his autocratic attitude toward Congress and the Supreme Court served as a rallying point for his opponents. By 1832 this opposition had crystallized into the formation of a new party, the Whigs. The Democratic-Republicans now became known as Democrats. These events revived the "two-party" struggle which has become so typical of the United States. It marked the beginning of the second of our three periods of party evolution.

The Whigs were held together by their opposition to the Democrats. On other issues of the time they were badly divided in opinion among themselves. The planters of the South questioned the tariff policies of the Whig party, the frontier West distrusted an alliance with the bankers of the East, and Northern liberals decried the party's refusal to take a stand on the slave problem. Although the Whigs elected Harrison and Taylor to the Presidency in 1840 and 1848, theirs was a party of compromise, of evasion and opportunism. The nation was stirred by various elements of discontent. Labor demanded better wages and shorter hours. The West resented the financial control of the East. There was agitation for free public education. The states' rights factions were inclined to defy all leadership and even the federal government itself. In their struggle for existence, both parties compromised and obscured the real issues of the time for the purpose of maintaining alliances of discordant interests.

Despite the Compromises of 1820 and 1850, the slavery question remained a vital issue. The Whigs' refusal to recognize it as such caused their decline. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 not only repealed all compromise on the slave question but also wrecked the loosely knit combination which made up the Whig party. Only six years later, the

Democratic party split in a similar manner. Compromise and evasion had failed to save either organization.

The birth of the new Republican party in 1854 marked the beginning of the third step in American party history. Created principally by the farmers of the northwestern states of the time, the Republican party failed to elect its candidate in 1856. Four years later, however, circumstances led to the election of Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President. A combination of northern farmers, eastern financial interests, abolitionists, and Free Soilers gave strength to the new party, while the Democrats were hopelessly divided on the slave question. The election was decided on a sectional basis.

The secession of the southern states and the unity developed by the Civil War gave the Republicans supremacy for the next fourteen years. The end of the Reconstruction period, however, brought back into the Union the "Solid South," identified almost exclusively with the Democratic party. From that time to the present, party issues have changed, states have shifted from one party to the other, minor parties have been active, but the Democrats and Republicans have remained the only major organizations.

Services of the Parties. Critics of the parties often overlook their undoubted services to representative government. It is not too much to say that they are the most important of all political agencies among democratic peoples. Over the decades they have decreased civil strife and made possible the orderly expression of public opinion. The struggle to control and use the agencies of government which goes on constantly between groups in society has been made largely a peaceful contest by the parties. Furthermore, whatever their shortcomings in practice at any particular time, over the years they have promoted national solidarity by uniting groups of different economic, sectional, racial, and religious interest. By periodic campaigns they have built up interests

in men and awareness of issues which have contributed to the political education of the masses

More specifically, parties in the United States render the following services

First they tend to fix responsibility. Every elected officer knows that the eyes of the opposition party are on him and that his opponents are eager to profit by his mistakes. For his own sake and that of the party, he must be constantly alert to commit no blunders which can be used as campaign charges by the opposition.

Second they provide leadership in government and public affairs. True, they frequently offer the voters a choice between two or more evils, but this is partly the fault of the more discriminating citizens who fail to take part in party councils or primary elections. It does not alter the fact that parties are the only agencies which can recommend leaders on a national basis.

Third they provide machinery for coordinating and unifying the government. They bring states and local communities into closer cooperation with the federal government and establish machinery by which the legislative and administrative branches may work in closer harmony. (See Chapter 11.)

Fourth, they conduct the election activities and machinery of the nation. They encourage voting, urge registration, hold conventions, and make nominations. However evasive the campaigns, they bring about some thought and discussion and force candidates to give general promises of conscientious service.

Fifth, parties unite the various interest groups of society. Each interest group desires primarily to promote its own welfare and influence, even though its members may be persuaded that what is best for them is also best for everyone else. But interest groups cannot elect their own representatives, so they must compromise in order to be on the winning side and gain even part of their demands.

In times of crisis we are usually more aware of our likenesses

as citizens than of our differences as partisans, so compromise comes more easily.

Parties Are Tools. As we have said before, the object of government is to build a better society by the use of power for the general welfare, and the existence of a particular government is justified only as long as it contributes to that end. In like manner, the purpose of parties is to build better government, more responsive to the needs of its citizens. Political parties are thus not ends in themselves; they are one means by which we try to build democratic society. Parties are tools.

It is pointed out often that those who criticize parties from high moral ground would talk more wisely if they understood this fact. A party is a way of organizing to control the policies and the personnel of government. The citizen who recoils from all party organizations and leadership because he considers them always evasive and sometimes corrupt is doing his bit to turn the government over to less conscientious men.

Politics is one phase of the same struggle for security and power that we have seen going on everywhere in society. Parties provide a way for individual citizens and organized groups to make their influence felt in this struggle. Leaders of special interest groups know this and make every effort to gain strength in party councils that they may influence the way laws are framed and enforced. Citizens who criticize parties for their undoubted shortcomings would be more effective if they would actively support organizations and leaders of whose programs they approve and thus make their own influence indirectly felt. Reform organizations and progressively minded legislators often complain that they get little organized support, but that their opponents are always backed by the money and effort of individuals and

groups who wish to control or influence the government for selfish ends

Ground for Criticism This is not to say that our major parties do not afford ample ground for criticism. They have come to exist as "vested interests," it is often charged, concerned only with retaining control of public offices and the public purse. Too often they select candidates who are faithful to party rather than capable of public service. Platforms are elaborate evasions of the issues really basic to social welfare. Conventions and campaigns are but fabulously expensive "tub-thumping" designed to avoid frank discussion and to conscript the emotions of partisans by catchwords, slogans, and other propaganda devices.

We shall examine these charges further as we proceed.

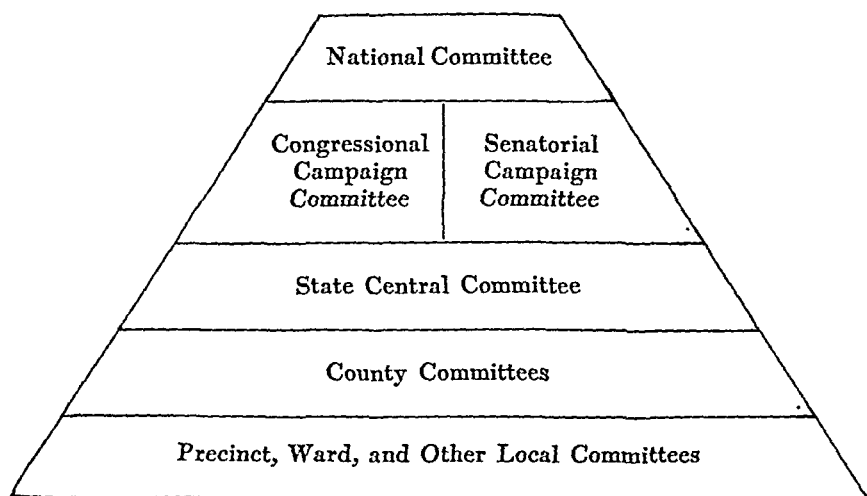
Party Organization and Finance

Party Committees. Organizing and directing the voting strength of the United States is a huge task. Covering the entire 48 states, reaching out to millions of voters, and rooting themselves in some 122,000 voting precincts, political parties must organize carefully to assure success. The size of the country and the number of votes cast create a burden which necessitates a high degree of coordination and efficiency. Since parties seek to mobilize and control the vast electorate, they must devise methods suitable to the task. Upon such organization depends, not only success at the polls, but the continued life of the party.

The organization of each party may be represented in the form of a pyramid. At the foundation are the precinct, ward, and other local committees. On these local committees falls the responsibility for getting out the votes. They conduct polls of the voters, organize and conduct meetings, distribute literature, transport voters to the polls, and in many

other ways promote party activities. Their work is not spectacular, but it is an important part of party organization. They are the party fingers which touch the voter directly. The precinct committeeman is often able, through his personal service to local citizens, to deliver a large percentage of the votes of his neighborhood to his party candidates.

Committee Organization of the Major Parties



The county committee is an important link in the party organization because the county itself is an important political unit. The presence of the county offices and the fact that the county is a taxation unit cause the county committee to figure prominently in party councils. The committee is composed of representatives chosen from towns and townships or wards within the county. The county chairman is usually a loyal party worker who is recognized because of his activity in local affairs.

Each state has a central committee which exercises a sig-

nificant influence in both state and national politics. The size of these committees varies in the different states from a dozen to nearly six hundred members. Where the state committee is very large, much of the actual work is carried on by a small executive committee. The state committee is chiefly concerned with the conduct of campaigns. It collects money and disburses it to local groups. It frames the state platform. Prominent members of state committees are important election personalities. Following elections this committee may advise regarding the distribution of patronage within the state.

Both of the major parties have senatorial and congressional committees. Their chief purpose is to assist in the election of the respective candidates for the federal Senate and House of Representatives. These committees are especially active during nonpresidential election years, carrying the principal burden during the mid-term election.

At the apex of the pyramid stands the party's national committee. Though subject to the national convention, which is supreme in both major parties, the national committee actually directs the campaign. A principal duty of this body is to call and organize the national convention. It decides the time and place of the convention, fixes the apportionment of delegates, and recommends temporary officers. The national committee is also a significant power during "off-election" years. It maintains a permanent staff which studies election returns, issues publicity, and serves to keep political interest alive between elections.

The National Convention The supreme power within each major party is exercised by the national convention. These meetings take place in midsummer of each presidential year, the Republicans usually meeting before the Democrats. More than a thousand delegates to the convention are chosen in the various states and territories by primary elec-

tions or party conventions. When the delegates assemble, they are accompanied by an equal number of alternates.

The national convention chooses the party's candidates for President and Vice-President. It drafts and approves the party platform. The national committee and other important committees receive from it the authority to act, and must have its confirmation of action taken between sessions.

Financing the Parties. The cost of maintaining the major political parties is enormous. In fact, the expense involved in one political campaign alone staggers the imagination. In 1920, for example, the national committees of the two major parties spent over five million dollars in their efforts to influence the presidential election. In 1924 the combined expenditures were nearly as large, and in 1928 they had grown to over seven millions. In 1932 they fell to a little over four million dollars, only to soar in 1936 to more than fourteen millions. To these costs must be added the expenses of state and local campaign activities amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars. By the terms of an act passed in 1940, each national committee is now limited to the official expenditure of three millions.

The use of such large amounts of money does not necessarily imply corruption. Huge sums are needed to provide for legitimate expenditures. Such items as campaign traveling expenses, newspaper advertising, radio time, clerical hire, postage, and printing are costly. Additional sums go for the rental of halls and headquarters, stationery, badges, bands, and numerous other smaller expenses. Campaign expenses seem unusually large today in comparison with Thomas Jefferson's expenditure of fifty dollars or even the one hundred thousand dollars spent by the Republican party in 1860. But it must be remembered that a single letter to a voter costs about ten cents. A page advertisement in a large metropolitan newspaper may cost over \$3000, and a na-

tion-wide radio hookup is apt to cost \$10,000 per hour.

A question of considerable interest to students is the source of these great sums of money. How are the costs of a political campaign met? From what sources does this money come? If we are to consider the future of democracy, we should be interested in the sources of campaign funds. If funds derive entirely from small groups of wealthy interests, the party is apt to give large representation to those interests. If they are contributed by various special interest groups, the extent of such contributions and the reasons why they are made should be known to the public.

Neither of the major parties has had any serious qualms of conscience regarding the sources of party funds. Harry I. Sinclair's loan to the Republican campaign fund in 1920, and underworld contributions in New York, or any one of a score of other cities, might be cited. The low level to which party finance methods can fall in the United States was shown by a statement of Boies Penrose, one-time political boss of Pennsylvania. He said, "I'll take money from any man. You can't run a party on nothing and when you need money the place to get it is from them that have it."¹ Such statements might mislead us, however, for there are numerous sources of party funds, most of which are open and legitimate.

Sources of Funds First, contributions are made by candidates and officeholders. Such contributions are not as openly made nor as mandatory as they once were, but they are still a rich source of revenue. Occasionally a fixed percentage of the officeholder's salary is demanded. At other times officeholders are merely invited to contribute—an invitation which they can ill afford to ignore. Federal, state and local government employees frequently have been cajoled or coerced

¹Davenport, Walter *Power and Glory: The Life of Boies Penrose* New York: Putnam's Sons, 1931 p. 177.

into giving financial support to the party which placed them in their jobs.

Second, large sums are contributed by nonpartisan individuals who believe the party or the candidate to represent, at that particular time, the best interests of society in general. These persons expect no personal profit because of their donations. They are interested primarily in the candidate or in the party's stand on some particular issue. Such single donations are not large, usually, but in the aggregate amount to a considerable sum. Political parties during recent years have welcomed such gifts (1) because they represent widespread popular support, and (2) because they arouse no suspicion of undue influence by self-interested groups. Each major party has made an effort to increase the number of small contributions made by individual voters.

Third, parties receive donations from nonpolitical organizations. Leaders of these groups may feel that their interests will be served best by the election of some one party's candidates, hence their willingness to support that party. Manufacturers may urge tariff protection, labor unions seek legal protection, and farmers organize for more adequate recognition of their problems. These and other groups are likely to throw their support to the party which promises them most. In 1936, for example, bankers, brokers, and manufacturers made 45 percent of the contributions exceeding \$1000 which were received by the Republican National Committee. In the same year the labor unions contributed over three-quarters of a million dollars to the Democratic campaign, most of this sum being given by the C.I.O.

Fourth, there are special groups which are interested in legislation affecting their peculiar activities. Organizations such as the liquor interests, sugar interests, oil interests, banks, and public utilities are vitally concerned over legisla-

tion restricting their businesses. They have found it to their advantage to make heavy contributions to the party which affords them the greatest protection. Not to be forgotten is the underworld, especially powerful at times in the large metropolitan areas. The promoters of gambling, prostitution, and gangsterism realize that immunity from the law often depends upon their usefulness to the local political powers. Such groups have been known to be or suspected of being heavy contributors to local party machines.

Finally, there is the support for the party in power which comes about directly or indirectly as the result of government spending. Congressmen "extend their remarks" in the *Congressional Record* to include speeches never delivered orally and intended strictly for campaign uses. Reprints are mailed to constituents without cost for postage. Where local machines are strong, it is not uncommon for party workers to be appointed to nominal offices which leave most of their energies free for partisan activity. The Roosevelt administration was accused by Republicans of profiting heavily from the vote of those on federal relief rolls and work projects in 1936. That whatever influence public spending may have had in that year probably declined, however, was indicated by the closeness of the popular vote in 1940 and 1944.

Reform in Party Finance Many Americans look with apprehension on the vast sums of money collected and disbursed by the major political parties. They believe that political contributions often involve party commitments to "vested interests" and suspect the democratic pretensions of both parties.² Various reforms in party finance have been proposed and there has developed increasing insistence upon more strict regulation of campaign contributions and expenditures by federal and state governments.

²Vested Interests: Those interests which have come to be looked upon as rights entitled to legal protection.

The obvious evils of campaign financial management have attracted such popular disapproval that numerous efforts have been made toward regulation. From 1907 to 1918 a number of laws were passed by Congress. In general, legislation has taken the following forms:

- a. Requirements of publicity as to campaign revenues and expenditures.
- b. Restrictions on sources of expenditures.
- c. Restrictions on the character of the expenditures.
- d. Limitations of the amounts to be expended.³

The first comprehensive step toward regulation was the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925. Relating to elections only, not to primaries, the act requires all committees which collect and spend money in national elections to file frequent reports with Congress. Campaign expenses are restricted under any conditions to \$25,000 for a Senator and \$5000 for a Representative, exclusive of personal expenses, such as travel, postage, and the like. Candidates may make no promises of appointment or political influence in return for votes. Corporations are forbidden to contribute to any campaign fund. Employees of the federal government are forbidden to solicit or receive contributions for political purposes.

One has only to reread the preceding paragraph to realize that the act of 1925 is far from adequate. First, it limits expenditures in national elections only and has no regulatory effect upon primaries. Second, the "personal expense" clause allows the candidate large expenditures which need not be reported. Third, it fails to limit the size of the contributions if they are made cleverly enough to remain undiscovered. Fourth, while corporations may not make contributions, individuals connected with corporations may cer-

³Merriam and Gosnell. *The American Party System*. Macmillan Co., New York, 1940, p. 372.

tainly do so. The effect of the Corrupt Practices Act has been disappointing. "The fact is that nowhere in the country has there been devised a legal method of effectually limiting the amount of money that may be spent in political fights. No law has yet been enacted through which the politicians cannot drive a four-horse team."

The Hatch Act of 1939 was another attempt to impose restrictions upon campaign solicitations. Aroused by reports of coercion of employees on public works projects, Congress prohibited mandatory solicitation from persons on relief. The act also forbids political activity on the part of federal administrative employees. Clearly an attempt to restrict the influence of presidential leadership, the law failed in its purpose. It later became evident that the executive branch of government could increase party strength through the exploitation of issues while federal patronage was distributed by local party machines. The Hatch Act places no restrictions on local machines, neither does it deny them the influence of federal patronage.

States also have enacted legislation to curb corruption in the use of campaign funds. In general these state laws aim (1) to require the reporting of contributions and expenditures, (2) to state the purpose for which money may be spent, (3) to limit the amount to be spent, and (4) to eliminate corporation contributions. Most state laws are not intended to restrict the total amount spent during a campaign, but merely the amount spent by the candidate. Furthermore, states often appear reluctant to enforce such laws. Instances have been pointed out where candidates have (1) failed to report their expenditures accurately, (2) failed to stay within prescribed limits of expenditures, (3) failed to use campaign funds in accordance with the law, and yet have been elected and sworn into office.

⁴Kent, Frank *The Great Game of Politics*. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York 1924 p. 114.

Campaign Methods

Every year the voters of the United States participate in at least one election, either local, state, or national. Every four years we elect men to the highest offices in the nation. Each of these elections is preceded by a campaign reaching into every precinct. Between elections the campaign continues in more subtle, but no less effective, form. The voter may well ask himself these questions: "What are the purposes of these campaigns? What methods are usually employed? How can I detect propaganda? How can I sift the evidence intelligently?"

Any activity which engages thousands of party workers, which costs millions of dollars, and which is directed toward 65,000,000 voters is worthy of study. This becomes decidedly apparent to us when we realize that we are the voters toward whom the campaign is aimed.

Campaign Objectives. The purposes of political campaigns may be viewed in several different ways, but if we accept the idea that the primary purpose of campaigns is to win elections, we might list their objectives somewhat as follows: *First*, the campaign attempts to fire regular party workers with a determination to win. Elections are influenced by the party's enthusiasm for its platform and candidates. *Second*, each party strives to win the independent voter. Especially is this true where the parties' voting strength is equally balanced. *Third*, the campaign of each party is pointed toward the new voter who may be undecided as to party affiliation. *Fourth*, the campaign is designed to secure supporters from opposing parties. And, *Fifth*, the campaign has regional emphasis. The party's farm measures are stressed in farming areas. Its labor planks are emphasized in labor circles. Its "big business" pronouncements are voiced more loudly in the sections where financial interests center.

The all-embracing purpose of the party's campaign is to create an emotional state of mind favorable to its cause at election time, one that will temporarily unite racial, religious, and economic groups of divergent interests. Publicity and timing keynote the successful campaign. Publicity is sought and bought. No candidate can afford to be ignored, and no party will permit its candidate to recede from public attention. Many partisans think as William Hale Thompson, former mayor of Chicago, thought when he said, "I believe that bad publicity is better than none."

Conduct of the Campaign Direction of presidential campaigns is given by the national committee of each party. Central figures in these organizations are the chairman and the treasurer. The former plans strategy and guides state committees and various special groups of party workers. The latter concentrates on raising funds by personal contacts and general appeals. Frequently, the national committee will open general headquarters in New York or Chicago and establish regional branch offices in order that no doubtful section may be neglected. Special subcommittees are also formed to consider ways of appealing to farmers, labor, women, the foreign-born, Negroes, veterans, and other groups.

The effort involved in conducting a campaign is enormous. Tons of cards, letters, leaflets, and campaign textbooks are prepared and distributed. Speaking tours and radio time are arranged for candidates. A corps of publicity men prepare releases for the partisan press, write radio scripts, and arrange advertising.

The methods of the noisier elements of campaign activity are those of the propagandist. They are designed to arouse feeling, not to promote reflection. Candidates are built up as "men of the people." Efforts are made to discredit opponents with various groups on the basis of their record. Constant use is made of such familiar symbols as flags, donkeys,

ON THE SAME PLATFORM

HARDING WILL
SCRAP THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS !

HARDING WILL
GIVE US A
LEAGUE OF NATIONS



tesy of the Dallas News

CAMPAIGN TACTICS

This cartoon criticized the Republican Campaign of 1920. Do the principal differences on foreign policy exist within or between the major parties today?

elephants, pictures, and buttons. Such words and phrases as "prosperity," "sound policies," "liberty," "equality," "Americanism," and "new birth of democracy" recur monotonously. Slogans and catch phrases are liberally coined.

Sham Battles or Basic Reform?

There are periodic waves of party criticism in the United States. This criticism is directed largely at the major parties because they are the only ones that count most of the time. Much of the indignation expressed is aimed at the more questionable financial practices of parties, which we have considered, and a large part of it is itself partisan in source, so is apt to be biased and superficial. Even so, there remains a considerable body of thoughtful criticism which is extremely important.

Machines and Spoils. We have pointed out that each party is held together by a relatively small number of active persons. Though the party may poll millions of votes, its real "organization" is apt to number not more than half a million ardent workers. These are the committeemen, the officeholders, the perennial contributors and speechmakers. Together they constitute the "organization" or the "machine."

Some of this group are moved by desires to serve, many by hope of reward. Victory means patronage for party distribution. Rewards may take the form of jobs, tax relief, government contracts, or discrimination in law enforcement. In general, it can be said that in the past the poor have been rewarded by jobs, the wealthy by tariff laws, contracts, and tax relief. We fill some three-quarters of a million elective offices on partisan lines and a large number by partisan appointments.

At various times considerable influence has been exercised

in both parties by local "machines," dominated by "bosses" and bearing an unsavory reputation. The traditional examples are Tammany, the Democratic organization in New York, and the Republican machine which was once so powerful in Philadelphia and environs. More recently we have heard much of the Crump organization in Memphis and the Kelly machine in Chicago. Such organizations are accused of thriving on ignorance, poverty, public indifference, greed, and graft. For the poor they do personal favors and find jobs; for the wealthy they have public orders and contracts. In return they demand from all elements the support which keeps the "boss" and the "ring" in power.

The persistence of spoils and patronage in American politics can be attributed to three main factors. The first of these is the popular belief that officeholders should be changed frequently. Those who hold to this belief fear the continued power of men who remain in office for too long a time. Secondly, there is another all too popular belief that officeholders need no particular qualifications in order to hold office. Indeed, many people are of the opinion that any literate person is capable of office administration. And finally, it must be remembered that it is the party in office which has the power to institute reform. History shows that the dominant party has usually been reluctant to sacrifice spoils for its partisans. It has been mainly from those outside of party counsels that the demand for reform has originated.

Much progress has been made, however, in spite of the obstacles mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed office seeker aroused citizens to demand corrective measures. The National Civil Service Reform League was formed to lead the movement. It and other organizations were active in demanding the short ballot, direct primaries, and the merit system of job appointment.

The most far-reaching reform step was the passage of the Pendleton Act in 1883. Its original provisions have been modified and expanded by subsequent laws and regulations. This act set up the federal Civil Service Commission, its



From *George Matthew Adams Service* in

CIVIL SERVICE VS POLITICS IN THE POST OFFICE

members to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The Commission acts by (1) preparing and administering examinations for job appointments, (2) administering retirement procedures so that civil employees may be cared for in old age, (3) maintaining records of employees, (4) providing plans for promotion and supervising working conditions, and (5) seeing that appointments are made on the basis of merit rather than of political favoritism.

There has been slow but definite progress in the extension of the merit system, not only in the federal government but in state and local administration. In a recent year 17 states, 675 cities, and 170 counties in the United States operated under some form of the merit system. Nearly three-fourths of the employees of the executive branch of the federal government are covered by the plan. However, the administration of civil service has not escaped criticism. Examinations are often poorly planned, it is charged, and fail to reveal the merits of candidates. Special examinations, temporary appointments, and other evasive methods are used to avoid the laws. Too little attention is paid to merit in upgrading competent employees in the various branches of government administration. (See Chapter 10.)

Submission to Cliques and Bosses. Recent years have brought much criticism of the parties for their failure to develop more leaders and to recognize a larger number of able men in the party ranks. It is claimed that this failure results in domination of the parties by individuals and groups who have no claim to recognition except party regularity. One phase of this domination is seen in the power of city and state "bosses" to influence nominations and elections to Congress, and even to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, and to dictate the appointment of party "hacks" to positions of great responsibility. Those who pursue this line of criticism point out that committee chairmanships and other responsible posts in Congress are filled by the parties on the basis of seniority without regard to the ability or qualifications of the appointees. This has the effect of discouraging able and progressive congressmen from speaking out because they are more certain of recognition if they remain colorless "regulars." Furthermore, these same regulars from Congress and the party ranks dominate the national conventions. At times when the parties should speak

out boldly on principles, the party leaders silence the faithful servants who compose the convention membership so that platform and nominees can be determined by expediency.⁵

A special phase of this line of criticism has been directed at the leadership exercised by Presidents and governors. These men are usually the acknowledged leaders of their parties within nation and states. It is charged that they have, in some instances, made use of their positions as public servants and party heads to establish, temporarily, virtual one-man rule. No matter how critical individual legislators might be of executive policies, they were unable to organize effective opposition because their colleagues were afraid of party reprisals.

Domination of the parties by individuals and small cliques tends to defeat democracy, it is argued. By filling appointive jobs with loyal henchmen a powerful partisan machine is created within the government itself. The persons encouraged to seek nominations to elective office are selected by the machines, so the voter is forever "choosing between evils," rarely being permitted to make a free choice of the men he thinks most able.

Influence of Special Interests The "interests" have been a constant source of debate in American politics for three generations. Several decades ago the embattled farmers of the West fought to secure uniformly low railroad rates throughout the Union. The Populist party in 1892 and 1896 and the Progressive party in 1912 and 1924 made vigorous attacks on trusts and combinations which they claimed dominated our economy and poisoned our politics. For several decades the Republicans consistently favored a "high protective tariff," so received the support of most manufactur-

⁵An illustration is provided by the manner in which the renomination of Vice-President Wallace was prevented in 1944. An exception occurred when Wendell Willkie received the Republican nomination in 1940 though opposed by the party "regulars."

ing interests. The Democrats supported a low tariff and were favored by importing interests and by those farmers who felt that their living costs were increased by high tariffs without any compensating aid to their business.

Today this problem of the influence of special interest groups on politics has become vastly more complicated. Groups in manufacturing, trade, finance, agriculture, labor, transportation, radio, and other fields are well organized into state and national associations for the purpose of pushing their claims to the special favors which government can confer. They maintain large and expensive lobbies in Washington and the various state capitals. Competing with them for government favors are other types of effective pressure groups maintained by the professions, reform bodies, educational and propaganda associations, veterans, and even the aged.

The trend of influence of "pressure politics" on parties is looked upon with misgiving by many sincere people. It is pointed out that state and federal legislators are constantly faced by organized forces of threat and persuasion. (See Chapter 11.) Labor unions and farm organizations use large percentages of their incomes for politics and propaganda. Industrialists and financiers spend openly all that the law will allow on the political campaigns of their chosen candidates, then add millions for "public relations." Indirectly they thus bring pressure on legislators and administrators. They "build up" the men they favor for governorships, congressional posts, and even the Presidency. When acts are passed to curb their greed and regulate their activities, they spend other millions attempting to invalidate the legislation in the courts.

•Pressure politics tends to alter the very basis of our system of representation, it is alleged. Theoretically, we elect our government officials from geographic areas. They are

supposed to represent all kinds of people and the interests of all kinds of groups within the areas which choose them. Actually, however, pressure politics is imposing on this constitutional system a distorted pattern of group representation. Elected officers regard themselves as especially obligated to represent the bankers, labor leaders, manufacturers, or farmers who backed their campaigns.

Furthermore, it is charged, the influence of the interests has a baneful effect on party methods and leadership. Neither party any longer stands for well-defined principles of government or public welfare. The platforms are dictated by the interests and framed by masters of evasion. Political morality steadily declines as party leaders, candidates, and the public come to expect from elected representatives only the most cynical and devious behavior. This situation is critical in the extreme, many people declare, for democracy rests upon ethics and individual integrity. The decline of honesty in public affairs threatens the very foundations of government and society.

Another serious effect of these developments is to make it almost impossible for any person to secure an office of power unless he is wealthy or is backed by wealth, it is claimed. Such persons are the only ones who can spend thousands of dollars in campaigns. Thus our government tends increasingly to reflect the interests and point of view of an oligarchy of wealth.

In Defense of the Parties. Those who defend the major parties emphasize "realism" in our attitudes toward them and their present leadership. That there will always be contending interest groups in democratic society was acknowledged by the framers of the Constitution, and has been recognized by every generation since, they assert. The rivalries of such groups have increased in intensity as society has become more complex, but they remain the same in kind as

for many generations. There is little danger that any one interest or small coalition of interests will gain more than temporary power over the parties and the government, because each group acts as a check upon the others. From their clashes emerge compromises on basic problems. Thus the general welfare is advanced steadily if not rapidly. Such are the methods of democracy.

There are those, also, who defend our present parties as the lesser evil of two alternatives. The present group composition of the parties is the result of the two-party system, they maintain. Within the parties are now compromised many group interests and rivalries that once would have been settled by violence. If we do not maintain our present bipartisan arrangement, we shall soon have a multi-party system with half a dozen parties contending for control of the government. This development would be dangerous to our political institutions for two reasons. First, it would tend to divide the population along class lines, thus intensifying bitterness. Second, it would make it impossible for any party to get a clear majority in lawmaking bodies, so the struggles that now go on in the parties merely would be transferred to Congress and the state legislatures.

It is futile to criticize parties and party leadership on ethical grounds alone, it is contended, because they merely reflect the society which creates them. For generations Americans have permitted themselves a less rigid code of honesty in business and politics than in private life. We have tended to honor those who gain wealth or public recognition without questioning their methods too closely. Furthermore, a large percentage of citizens are so indifferent to public affairs that it is difficult to get 50 percent of the eligible voters to the polls for even the most vital elections. It follows that our attack on the undoubted shortcomings of the parties should be made indirectly through education. Libraries, news-

papers, movies, radio, churches, schools, and all other educational agencies should make a concerted effort to interest the public in the great problems of our time. Informed opinion is the only influence that will bring about permanent party reform.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

- 1 Prepare a short outline of the history of one or the other of the major parties. Compare its platform of 1896 or 1900 with that of a recent campaign.
- 2 Why have so many presidential candidates been selected from New York and Ohio?
- 3 What do you think of party councils as agencies for writing party platforms? How should they be composed?
- 4 Compare the Democratic, Republican, and Socialist party platforms for the last presidential campaign. Note especially the planks relating to labor, taxation, regulation of business, and farm problems. Do you detect evasion?
- 5 Ask each member of the class his party preference and the party affiliation of his parents and grandparents. What does this reveal as to inherited partisanship?
- 6 What do you think of the proposal that the federal government finance presidential campaigns? What might be the advantages and the dangers?
- 7 If asked to make a score sheet for rating the qualifications of a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, what points would you include?
- 8 Search for information on the history of famous political rings and bosses.
- 9 Examine a speech made by one or the other of the presidential candidates in the last election. Underline each place where the candidate has used faulty logic or a propaganda technique.
- 10 Why is it that care is always taken in campaigns not to attack the voters of the opposing party?
- 11 Go into the problem of nonvoting. What percentage of the voters cast ballots in the last general election?

12. Quite recently a prominent journalist remarked after the national party conventions, "What this country needs is a good two-party system!" Comment.
13. What agencies in your community might be interested in combining their efforts to promote public discussion of current problems?
14. What are some of the opportunities for careers in politics?

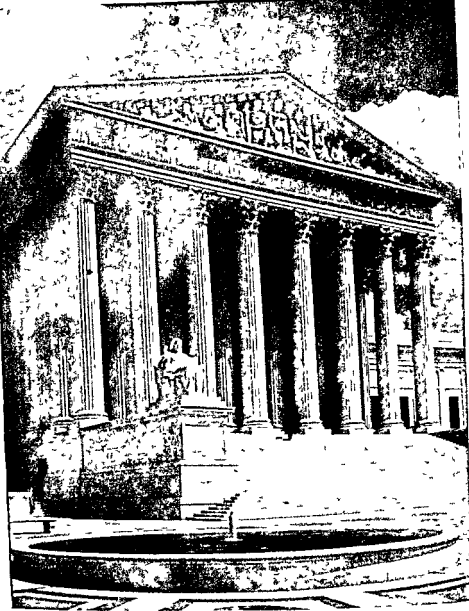
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Photograph by Lwing Galloway

DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

The Supreme Court is our final court of appeals and the people's protection against infringement of their rights by either government or business

CHAPTER 10

REPRESENTATION vs. REGIMENTATION: ADMINISTRATION

- I. GOVERNMENT AND GROUP STRUGGLE
 - 1. Ground for Reflection
 - 2. Shall We Be Governed by an "Administrocracy"?
 - II. THE PROCESS OF CENTRALIZATION
 - 1. Supreme Court Interpretations of the Constitution
 - 2. Grants-in-Aid
 - 3. Delegation of Congressional Power
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 - 1. The Weakening Federal System
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 - V. REORGANIZATION AND REFORM
 - 1. Facing the Situation
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 - 5. Improving the Civil Service
 - 6. Improving Cabinet Usefulness
 - 7. Developing Regional Decentralization and Planning
 - 8. Amending the Constitution
 - 9. State Administration
 - VI. A SUMMARY AND A LOOK AHEAD
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Government and Group Struggle

Time after time in preceding chapters we have referred to the struggles for security and power which are taking place everywhere in society. Especially we have noted the evidences of such struggle—its reasons and its results—in the United States. We have seen how conflict is reflected in the problems of propaganda, civil liberties, minorities, corporate power, unemployment, and individual security. The parties, we have learned, reflect in their structure and activities the myriad groups and interests engaging in these contests.

Our government, especially our national government, supposedly stands above these struggles. It exists to serve the "general welfare," the "public interest." The federal Constitution places final power in "the people," and when the struggle between groups is too sharp, we expect government agencies to decide issues without fear or favoritism. Government policies are to be shaped by the long-run interest of the whole people, so far as this interest can be determined, not by the temporary demands of the few. Legislative bodies exist to define such policies and enact them into law. Administrative bodies are charged with responsibility for giving the laws practical effect.

Ground for Reflection It is inevitable, however, that the complexities of our time should be reflected in the government itself. The struggle between groups tends to grow acute and bitter as time goes on. In an effort to direct the strong and protect the weak, the government, especially the federal government, assumes wider and wider supervision over public activities. Government power is increasingly centralized, as we saw in Chapter 5. Efforts are made by many groups,

particularly economic groups, to influence lawmaking and law enforcement. Rivalries develop within the government between the various agencies.

The average citizen is amazed and sometimes frightened at the size and range of the activities carried on by government today. If he forgets this now and then, his tax bills remind him. Before the Second World War, he had grown accustomed, if not reconciled, to having the three branches expend 15 or 16 billion dollars annually. War costs measured in hundreds of billions soon reduced such expenditures to relative insignificance. There is food for reflection in the thought that hereafter the interest on the public debt alone will amount to far more than all the costs of operating government a few decades ago.

Except for war bills, the costs of government (in all branches—local, state, federal) have increased, however, no faster than the range of public services. A large percentage of the hospital beds in the United States are now publicly provided. Public health agencies protect our water and food supplies, dispose of waste, inspect buildings and markets, license physicians and nurses, and carry on a constant battle against contagion. Education, child labor, crime detection, recreation, old-age dependency, unemployment, and industrial accidents are matters of public concern. Government agencies construct and maintain roads, charter and supervise business corporations, drain swamps, and build dams, docks, and terminals. Within recent years hundreds of millions of dollars have been loaned by government agencies to farmers, bankers, manufacturers, shippers, and other private business ventures.

These and scores of other activities and responsibilities make governing the biggest business in the nation. Local, state, and federal governments own and operate buildings,

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These and scores of other activities and responsibilities make governing the biggest business in the nation. Local, state, and federal governments own and operate buildings,

farms, colleges, parks, railroads, ships, powersites, street railways, and many other forms of property. Supplies are bought on a gigantic scale. Other forms of business—such as banking, radio transmission, rail and air transportation, and security marketing—are closely supervised. And always there are the problems involved in settling disputes and keeping this vast, complex machinery performing its duties as smoothly as possible.

We noted in Chapter 5 that government power has moved steadily toward central control as the duties and services described have increased. As problems have enlarged in number and scope, local governments have sacrificed power to the states, while the states have transferred power to the federal government. Within the states, and even more within the federal government, the legislative branch has tended to release power to the administrative branch.

The result of this centralizing trend has been the rapid expansion of the administrative division of government. Pressed by demands for service, this branch has been enlarged steadily as Congress and the state legislatures have authorized new boards, bureaus, and commissions. Today most states have a score or more of special administrative boards. The federal government has recently had a number ranging at various times from one dozen to several dozen. Table I lists thirty federal bureaus, commissions, and government corporations which have been active in recent years. Note the number of these which have been established since 1930.

TABLE I

Selected Federal Administrative Agencies

<i>Name of Agency</i>	<i>Date Established^a</i>
U. S. Civil Service Commission	1883
Interstate Commerce Commission	1887
Federal Trade Commission	1914
U. S. Tariff Commission	1916
Federal Power Commission	1920
Inland Waterways Corporation	1924
Food and Drug Administration	1931
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	1932
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	1933
Home Owners' Loan Corporation	1933
Tennessee Valley Authority	1933
Commodity Credit Corporation	1933
National Mediation Board	1934
Federal Communications Commission	1934
Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation	1934
Securities and Exchange Corporation	1934
Federal Housing Administration	1934
Export-Import Bank	1934
Social Security Board	1935
National Labor Relations Board	1935
R. F. C. Mortgage Company	1935
Rural Electrification Administration	1935
Electric Home and Farm Authority	1935
United States Maritime Commission	1936
Federal Crop Insurance Corporation	1938
Office of Price Administration	1942
War Shipping Administration	1942
War Relocation Authority	1942
War Production Board	1942
War Manpower Commission	1942
Office of War Mobilization	1943

^aCertain boards enumerated here succeeded other bodies which had performed similar functions in previous years. This list may be supplemented by reference to the U. S. Government Manual.

Shall We Be Governed by an "Administocracy?" Small wonder the bewildered citizen reflects with misgivings upon what is taking place. We reviewed in Chapter 5 the fears of bureaucracy and regimentation which are often expressed. These fears have been especially acute in recent years when citizens were beset by a system of war controls that reached into every business and every home.

"Are we," we ask ourselves, "to be governed hereafter by an 'administocracy,' a professional group of appointed officeholders who make careers of the public service?" Are these trends toward centralized power and enlarged administration inevitable? Can the giant agencies of a huge administrative branch be made efficient and kept democratic? How can the people control our multiplicity of agencies and the men and women who compose their personnel, to prevent abuses of power? What is the role of Congress? the President? the courts?

For various reasons it is not easy to come to conclusions about these problems. First, our fears have not been stilled by a succession of "crises." Through two wars and an economic depression the citizen has watched one "crisis" succeed another. He observes that each crisis leaves his government more highly centralized, his taxes higher. Second, newspapers and radio do not make real understanding easy. Reporters and commentators are attracted by the sensational events which make "good stories." They report on the more colorful personalities and play up the clashes and quarrels within government agencies, thus stimulating our feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. Third, there is a good deal of patently insincere "viewing with alarm" on the part of newspapers, partisan groups, and special interests. And finally, word troubles and logical confusions arise to plague thought and befog discussion.

In the remainder of this chapter let us examine the process

of centralization, the advantages and dangers involved, and various proposals for change.

The Process of Centralization

What are the processes by which increasing control over public affairs has moved toward the federal government? Has this trend of developments been promoted in ways that are not always obvious? How has it happened that the administrative branch of government particularly has grown so large?

In Chapter 5 we noted four underlying causes for centralization and increased federal regulation:

1. The national and international scope of trade has made federal regulation necessary.
2. The public has demanded restrictions on many forms of enterprise.
3. Various forms of industry and trade have requested regulation in order to insure fair trade practices among themselves and to prevent cutthroat competition.
4. Two wars and an economic depression have hastened the concentration of control in federal agencies.

Granting that these are the reasons, or at least the principal reasons, what has been the process by which centralization has taken place? How has the machinery developed? Let us discuss briefly several trends of development by which (1) power has moved from state and local governments to the federal government, and (2) power has been concentrated especially in the administrative branch of the federal government.

Supreme Court Interpretations of the Constitution. The general tendency of court decisions since the adoption of the Constitution has been to enlarge federal power at the expense of the states. Step by step the Supreme Court has

approved the actions of Congress in extending its powers of regulation over national affairs. To make such regulation effective, agencies of administration and supervision have been established by law.

As every student knows, the powers granted Congress by the Constitution (Article I, Section 8) are "express" (enumerated) and "implied." The latter rest upon the "elastic" clause, which states that Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers,¹ and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." On the basis of this clause and a broad interpretation of such terms as "general welfare," "commerce," and "regulate," Congress has passed laws gradually expanding the scope of federal activities as new national problems have arisen. The power to tax for the general welfare has come to mean for any public purpose, such as road building, aid to business, or the prevention of human suffering. The authority to regulate interstate and foreign commerce has been extended to varied aspects of trade, manufacturing, and communication. Such well-known services as parcel post, postal savings, national banks, housing aid, and the various administrative agencies named in Table I rest upon interpretations of law which approve these things as "necessary and proper."

Grants-in-Aid The financial grants-in-aid of various undertakings which Congress has so freely extended to states and cities have tended to tighten the federal control built up by legislation and court decisions. Many hundred millions of dollars have thus been provided to help defray the cost of schools, roads, buildings, and public health and welfare work. Such funds are granted on condition that the state or city receiving aid shall use it for the purposes and in the

¹If you do not recall what powers are enumerated, turn to the Constitution and read Section 8 of Article I.

manner prescribed by act of Congress. Though the federal government may have no direct supervision over the activity for which the money is spent (as education, for example), such subsidies actually extend somewhat the federal powers of indirect supervision.

Delegation of Congressional Power. The powers within government fall into three groups. The legislative power is policy-making in nature—a policy must be determined and enacted into law before other action can be taken. The executive or administrative branch of government puts these policies into effect. The judicial branch settles disputes which arise when the law is applied.

The creation of numerous executive agencies has the net effect of enlarging the powers of the administrative branch. Though all lawmaking power in the federal government is vested by the Constitution in Congress, this body cannot possibly attend to all details of putting laws into actual execution. The courts cannot shape or direct administration because problems do not reach them until abuses lead to litigation.² So Congress has followed the practice of laying down certain general guiding principles in law and establishing special bureaus, commissions, or government corporations to administer the acts. Each of these agencies deals with problems of a specialized, sometimes technical, nature. It has responsibility for applying the terms of the law throughout the nation. In order to be effective, it must interpret and apply the law in detail and in many situations, thus shaping up the policy laid down by Congress. Inevitably, each agency issues a large body of rules and regulations. Such regulations have all the force of law; in fact, their net effect is to amplify legislation. Lawyers speak of this rule-making activity of administrative bodies as quasi-legislative in nature.³

²Litigation: a judicial contest; a lawsuit.

³Quasi: in a manner; in a certain sense or degree.

Some commissions also exercise what are called quasi-judicial powers. They hear and decide the complaints and disputes which arise in the enforcement of the act. Their power is thus threefold: primarily administrative, but partly legislative and partly judicial.

Though the Supreme Court has upheld Congress in delegating such broad powers to administrative agencies, there has long been acrid debate over the matter. The various criticisms and defense arguments we shall discuss later. It is sufficient for our present purpose to note that the establishment of such bodies is one means by which power has been centered in the federal government, especially in the administrative branch.

Aggressive Presidential Leadership It is often stated, with truth, that the aggressiveness of some Presidents has tended to centralize power in the hands of the executive and his assistants. The President, by means of his position as party leader and by virtue of the vast appointive power which enables him to reward congressional loyalty, can often take the lead in legislation and push his own program through Congress. This influence may include great power over financial affairs as well as general social policy, since the President is responsible for budget-making and financial recommendations. Congress is thus deprived of some of the traditional power over the purse which it has used in the past as a check on the executive. Times of crisis, such as wars and depressions, are favorable to extensions of executive leadership. All eyes are then on the President, action is urgent, and congressmen disagree among themselves. The President may then shape legislation, gain control of vast sums of money to be used at his discretion, and direct the course of foreign affairs by executive agreements with foreign powers. The latter may be made without the Senate approval required by the Constitution for the conclusion of treaties.

It is well to remember, though, that Congress and the courts have various means of checking an executive. Congress may refuse to make appropriations or the Senate may fail to ratify treaties or approve appointments. The courts may declare either laws or administrative regulations unconstitutional as contested cases are brought before them. In extreme cases, the President may even be impeached under the procedure provided in the Constitution.

Constitutional Amendments. The Constitution as a written instrument establishes limited government. The federal government, the states, even the people themselves are limited by the very fact of having a written instrument of government. The tendency of amendments has been to loosen some of these restrictions. The power of the federal government has been extended, for instance, by such amendments as the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Nineteenth, to the degree that they are enforced. However, extension of federal power by amendment has been much less notable than extension by legislation and court decision.

The Attack on Big Government

Those who look with misgiving on the growth of governmental power are vigorous and cogent in their attack on what they regard as the dangers of current trends. Their arguments fall into two groups. The first line of argument is directed against the further centralization of power in the federal government. The second is directed at the dangers and abuses charged against the growing size and authority of the administrative branch of government. There are many variations of these arguments, of course, but their principal points can be summarized in substance.

The Weakening Federal System. Ours is a federal system of government, the critics remind us. It was the intention of the framers of the Constitution to federate the states in

such manner that they would retain many of their powers even while vesting others in the national government. Ours is, therefore, a dual system. The final power under the Constitution rests in the people, but the conduct of affairs is divided between the state and federal governments. That the founders did not plan to create a national government strong enough to overshadow the states is indicated by the division of powers between states and nation. The principal powers which the federal government was expected to exercise are specifically named in Article I, Section 8. This means that no power resides in the national government unless it is enumerated here or may be "reasonably" implied. On the other hand, the states may take any action not expressly prohibited by the Constitution.

The growth of national power is steadily destroying the federal structure of the Union, it is charged. The once cherished doctrine of "states' rights" is becoming meaningless. Under the guise of serving the "general welfare" or "regulating" commerce, Congress is assuming powers over education, public health, welfare work, and other matters which are properly the concern of the states. Through the use of its financial powers the national government is becoming the great banker, financial holding company, building and loan agency, and insurance company of the nation. The subsidies (grants-in-aid) have had strings of authority attached which have further centralized federal power. So far has this trend progressed that the voters no longer expect or wish to finance and manage their own affairs. Mayors, governors, and congressmen are often elected to office less because of their abilities than because they are able to secure federal subsidies for projects which should be financed and managed entirely by states and cities.

This course of affairs is destroying the strongest bulwark between the American people and a fascist state, it is argued.

The dual nature of our government, with much power resting in the states, has provided our strongest check against despotism. Imagine, say some critics, a situation in which the states become subservient to the federal government. Then suppose Congress and the Supreme Court continue to permit the federal administrative branch to enlarge its power. If any President then chooses to become the servant of financial or industrial interests and entrench himself behind a large army and navy, we shall be in danger of an American brand of despotism, call it whatever you will.

The most obvious alternative to the trend toward centralization is to reverse it, we are told. Let us begin at once to decentralize power, returning to the state and local governments some measure of the responsibility with which the Constitution endowed them.

We shall note later how this line of argument is met by those of opposed opinion.

Charges Against Administrative Centralization. Not only is the federal system being destroyed, but the constitutional principle of separation of powers is being set aside, say the critics. The federal Constitution distributes powers to the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. It was clearly the idea of the framers that these powers should be kept separate in so far as possible. That no one branch might gain great power at the expense of the others, each was provided with checks on the others. But the President and the various administrative agencies are now exercising large powers of legislative and judicial nature. The President is given power to set up commissions and is provided with huge sums of money to spend at his own discretion. The various agencies issue rules and hold hearings of judicial nature in addition to their administrative functions.

A similar trend is apparent in the governmental organ-

ization of various states. The governor, various other state officers, and the administrative agencies are constantly reaching out for power at the expense of the legislatures and the courts.

This state of affairs within the federal government is endowing the President with dangerously expanded authority and is creating an inefficient and autocratic bureaucracy, some persons claim. The American people have long been willing to endow Presidents with vast powers in time of war, believing that such powers could be restricted in peace times. But for the past thirty years or more we have proceeded from one "crisis" to another, in peace and war alike. Each "crisis" has been used to increase presidential power, directly and indirectly. Today we find the President administering agencies which propagandize in foreign nations and at home, operate a large part of the nation's industry, maintain and direct huge armed forces both at home and abroad, look after the unemployed and the unfortunate, arbitrate labor disputes, and regulate the raw materials, sales, prices, and profits of the American economy. This vast administrative machinery is dominated to a dangerous degree by successive administrations upon the basis of party leadership and the powers of appointment. An army of job holders supports each administration in its exercise of power and the whole structure is backed by a constant flow of propaganda issued by means of press and radio. There is grave danger, we are told, that unchecked presidential leadership may commit the American people to foreign policies productive of future wars and to financial policies which can end only in national bankruptcy—or perhaps in some form of an all-powerful state.⁴

Some federal agencies, claim the critical, are autocratic

⁴Flynn, J. T. *As We Go Marching*. Doubleday, Doran, 1944. Part III.
Sullivan, L. *Bureaucracy Runs Amuck*. Bobbs Merrill, 1944.

and dictatorial in their attitudes toward business corporations. When disputes and complaints arise, they act as judge, jury, and prosecutor in passing upon violations of their own rules and regulations. Furthermore, they are charged, as we noted in Chapter 5, with being inefficient in action and overlapping in authority.

The Case for Centralization

Those who favor centralized government power also follow two general lines of argument. The first is defensive in nature, a refutation of the idea that the constitutional system is being destroyed. The second line of argument takes the offensive by attempting to prove that administrative agencies are essential and that they are democratic in nature and usually efficient in practice.

Constitutional System Intact. To argue that our constitutional system is being "undermined" by centralizing trends is completely fallacious, it is claimed. Such argument fails to recognize the distinction between the Constitution as a written instrument basic to our government and the constitutional system of government which has been erected on this basis since 1789. The Constitution—the written document—is so short that it can be read in a few minutes. Its framers did not regard it as an end in itself but as a means to an end—a foundation upon which could be built a structure of government to meet the needs of the American people. The framers, realizing that they could not foresee all problems, made no attempt to prescribe in detail how future problems should be met. They set up only the skeleton of governmental machinery, leaving future needs to be supplied by action of Congress. The Congress was to be guided by the basic constitutional principles, not kept from taking such action as might be found necessary.

On the basis of this written instrument we have erected

our system of government. The system has been a growth, expanding as our needs and problems have changed for five generations. Inevitably, we have today many agencies and practices which our forefathers could not foresee. But the growth has taken place within the framework of the constitutional principles upon which the government was launched in 1789. As Congress has enlarged the structure of the government by legislation, the Supreme Court has upheld the changes. Also, amendments have been added to the Constitution. Rules and regulations have filled in the details of law. Even custom and usage have brought about practices which could not possibly have been anticipated a century or more ago.

It is pointed out often that it would be absurd to restrict our actions by a literal interpretation of the Constitution. Under such interpretation the political parties, which play such a central role in our affairs, would lose much of their influence and usefulness, for they are nowhere mentioned in the Constitution. We would have no Cabinet for the same reason. The Electoral College would actually choose the President instead of acting as a mere figurehead to record the choice of the citizens. The power of judicial review would be denied to the courts. In short, a literal interpretation of the Constitution would bring about overnight far greater changes in our structure of government than the establishment of a few administrative agencies has brought about.

The administrative agencies are strictly in accord with constitutional principles, their defenders insist. They are established by act of Congress or by the President through power granted to him by Congress. This is the way the entire federal court system below the Supreme Court was set up, yet we do not for that reason consider it dangerous or unconstitutional. Furthermore, the administrative agencies are checked by the fact that Congress may discontinue

their appropriations or even abolish them entirely. Also, their regulations and decisions are subject to court review in many instances and may be set aside if considered dangerous.

The Justification of Centralization. We have no ground for complaint because Congress and the federal administration attack problems that are national in scope, it is argued. The plain fact is that many problems formerly local or state-wide in nature have grown to national stature. For instance, the supervision of communication or transportation in the days preceding telephone, telegraph, radio, railroad, automobile, and airplane was one thing; to supervise them now is quite another. A central purpose of the establishment of the Constitution was to make it possible for a national government to control and supervise interstate and foreign commerce. For us to set up the machinery for such control today involves no departure from historic principles but merely the establishment of some new agencies.

Furthermore, the centralization of political control in the federal government merely reflects the centralization of economic control which is taking place in society, we are reminded. Trade, manufacturing, and finance have centralized control through corporations, cartels, and trade associations. Farmers and industrial workers have national associations and unions. Even those professions which are not controlled from the top, such as education and medicine, have organized national bodies to issue propaganda and exert pressure on Congress. Shall we deny these facts and insist that our government remain too weak to cope with the problems of our time?

The various state and federal bureaus which are so frequently attacked are not a cause but a consequence. To attack them for our economic ills is like blaming the farmer's cultivator for a summer drouth. The bureau, like the

cultivator, is merely a tool used to cope with the situation. It is not perfect and we hope to improve it, but it is indispensable. Each bureau is a form of recognition that there is a problem, but it does not itself constitute the problem.

The necessity for federal administrative agencies arises from the vast number of affairs which center in Washington. The capital has become a battleground for special interests. Congressmen hear the various special pleas and attempt to frame legislation which will compromise differences and serve the public welfare. But Congress, faced each session by 20,000 or more measures requiring consideration, cannot possibly put laws into effect in a detailed way, even if that were its duty. Nor can the courts check administration for the reason that problems reach them only when disagreements become acute. The President and the Cabinet departments are so overloaded with detail that it has become apparent that they cannot possibly assume more. Therefore, the administrative agencies fill needs that must be met if the government is to serve the public interest.

Furthermore, the argument continues, the administrative agencies are usually both efficient and democratic. They command the services of specialists who bring exceptional knowledge and skill to their jobs. Members of such boards can give long study to problems and seek advice from many sources. They are capable of carrying out whatever policy has been laid down by Congress with the minimum of partisan interference and pressure. By informal hearings and special investigations, they eliminate delays and relieve the courts of a burden of litigation. If properly checked by Congress and the courts, they provide the most efficient and responsible method of dealing with problems of far-reaching importance.

Most criticisms of administrative agencies arise from biased sources, it is alleged. Many persons or concerns who are

dealt with by certain agencies are prepared to declare anything short of their full demands as unfair treatment.⁵ Other complaints arise from the desire of special interests to escape all regulation. Congressmen and sensational newspapers sometimes make blanket indictments of "bureaucracy" or "administocracy" in the hope of gaining partisan advantage during elections. Then, too, some congressmen dislike these agencies because they are not permitted to control the appointments of the personnel.

Reorganization and Reform

Facing the Situation. The truth about the dangers and advantages of centralized power in government probably lies somewhere between the extremes we have summarized here. Aware of the many threats of our time, various groups of the public demand that the government provide guidance and security. One element of opinion says we cannot do so and retain democracy; another says we cannot fail to do so if we wish to retain democracy. Meanwhile, each of many groups and interests presses for special advantage. Problems increase in number and size and new ways are sought to meet them. All this is so bewildering that we are apt to be confused about the possible lines along which improvement might be made.

Various students of these problems are inclined to regard a good deal of this controversy as unrealistic and unconstructive. They insist that we stop prejudiced debate and attempt to reason out a course. In the first place, we are safe in taking certain points of agreement for granted, they say. Let us begin with the following assumptions: (1) that

⁵For instance, when the Federal Communications Commission proposed to restrict chain broadcasting, the large broadcasters declared that the regulations were issued on insufficient hearings. But the Commission pointed out that the preliminary proceedings covered a three-year period and that three commissioners sat for six months hearing testimony from broadcasters and their witnesses which filled some 8700 pages of transcript.

everyone wants to continue and strengthen democratic government, its control and services, (2) that we are apt to continue doing business among ourselves with as few changes as possible, (3) that we shall, therefore, continue to be faced with many problems growing out of struggles for security and power, and (4) that since the government (especially the federal government) is strong and represents us all, it will play a bigger role in our private affairs in the future than in the past ⁶

If the points listed are agreed upon, say these students, then the obvious course for us is to find ways to improve our present arrangements. Since we cannot go back, we must go forward.

There are several apparent reasons why the tendency toward federal centralization is not apt to be reversed. Even casual study of these points will convince the thoughtful that there is little hope in this direction.

First The states are financially dependent on the federal government. For years states have been going into debt for public improvements. Some of them have about reached the limit of debt expansion, but the demands on state governments for schools, roads, welfare work, soldier benefits, etc., are increasing. The states will be unable to meet these demands because their sources of revenue are decreasing. The federal government now taxes incomes, gifts, and inheritances at rates so high that there is little state revenue left in such sources. For a time the states could fall back on gasoline and sales taxes, but federal excise taxes have now cut down these sources of funds also. Faced with a debt of 800 billion dollars or more, the federal government is not apt to relinquish revenue to the states.

Second, there will be continuing pressure on Congress to put various forms of social benefits entirely on a national basis. Fourteen million war veterans will insist upon having hospitals and free medical care of various kinds federally guaranteed.

⁶Compare with Chapter 5 and with statements in Chapters 2, 6, 7 and 8.

Labor is pressing continually to nationalize the system of unemployment insurance to relieve the inequalities of differing state systems. The problem of improving schools, especially in the states containing least wealth, will probably lead to large federal subsidies for education in the near future.

Third, the federal government has a large business stake in continuing its many activities. A short time ago it was estimated that over 15 billion dollars' worth of industrial plants and equipment were owned by the nation. Various government corporations have loaned huge sums to manufacturers, shippers, farmers, and bankers in recent years. The Tennessee Valley Authority, a government corporation, now operates dams, fertilizer plants, and other business activities. Numerous public-works plants built yesterday and planned for tomorrow also involve huge investments.

Fourth, though many persons approve federal decentralization in theory, few groups want the idea applied to themselves. Farmers want federal supervision to prevent a sharp drop in crop prices. Labor wants a national guarantee of its right to bargain collectively. Various trade and industrial leaders want permanent national machinery to control production and price levels.

We must conclude, say many thoughtful persons, that the talk of extremists about government centralization is not constructive. There is every prospect that the trend toward centralization will continue, though perhaps less rapidly than in the recent past. Our best procedure, therefore, is to begin with points of agreement, such as those summarized on page 336, and to consider what measures of reorganization and reform to adopt. Each measure which is put into effect must be aimed both at increasing the efficiency of administration and at making democratic control easier.

Raising the Prestige of Congress. The first step in assuring democratic control of whatever administrative agencies or offices may be established is to revive full public confidence

in Congress, we are told Congressmen are the directly elected representatives of the people, in sharp contrast to federal administrative and judicial officers, all of whom are appointed except the President and the Vice-President. Congress, as the popularly elected branch of government and as the policy-making branch, is the real bulwark of liberty. Thoughtless citizens and irresponsible critics should realize this fact and devote their efforts to suggesting means by which the House and Senate can improve their procedure. Congress should be deliberate and scientific in formulating policies and critical of the way they are put into effect by the administrative branch.

The most certain way for Congress to increase its influence in government and its prestige with the public is to revise its own procedure. The less active committees might be abolished. Remaining committees might be combined to reduce the total number from thirty-five or forty in each house, as at present, to twelve or thirteen. Each enlarged committee should have a competent staff of helpers to gather and compile information. Committee members should become genuinely expert in their respective fields and thus able to formulate policies and check on administrative agencies in an informed manner. House and Senate committees should hold frequent joint meetings. The chairmen and members of committees should be able to cooperate with Cabinet agencies and independent commissions in a manner both sympathetic and critical. The outcome of such reforms would be more carefully framed laws and more responsible and cautious administration.

We shall have more to say of the problems and responsibilities of Congress in Chapter 11.

Reorganizing to Fix Authority and Responsibility A second reform, already well advanced, is the shifting and regrouping of government agencies. Each President for a gen-

eration has called attention to this need, but it was not until 1939 that Congress empowered the President to proceed to a limited extent. The objects of the changes since made have been to (1) combine agencies according to major purpose, (2) tighten up the lines of authority leading from the President and Congress, and (3) simplify government structure and fix responsibility.

Many agencies have been shifted or combined. Among other changes, three large agencies—Federal Works Agency, Federal Loan Agency, and Federal Security Agency—were created. Each of these was made up by combining a number of corporations, administrations, bureaus, and boards. The chief administrators of FWA, FLA, and FSA were invited into Cabinet meetings. In 1942 the various groups and duties of FLA were absorbed by the Department of Commerce, where they remained until 1945. Shifts also transferred the Bureau of the Budget to the Executive Office of the President and provided the President with several executive secretaries and administrative assistants.

Various persons insist that changes of this nature should be carried farther. Any change which simplifies structure and fixes responsibility is democratic, it is claimed, because it makes public understanding, control, and cooperation easier. The essentials of genuinely democratic government are control by the voters and good management of the many agencies which serve the public. The President's Committee on Administrative Management recommended several years ago that all administrative agencies be grouped in twelve Cabinet departments. There has been much insistence, too, that all matters relating to foreign affairs be grouped together much more closely than in the past.

Overcoming Abuses Charged to Regulatory Bodies. The administrative agencies of the federal government have widely varying powers. Some bodies, such as the Social Se-

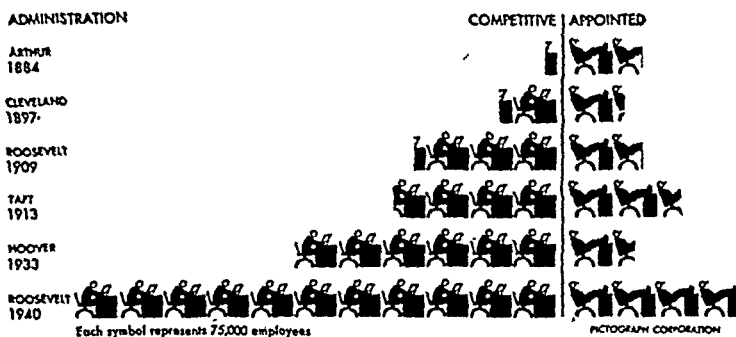
curity Board and the Federal Housing Administration, have largely administrative authority. Others, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, and the Securities Exchange Commission, have powers which are very sweeping, including more authority of legislative and judicial nature. It was inevitable that the various agencies should be charged with abuses. To remedy apparent shortcomings various proposals have been made for reforms in procedure. It is sufficient to note here that the common objects of these differing plans are to eliminate misleading publicity, make administrative investigations and hearings more impartial, and increase cooperation between government agencies and private corporations. Several years ago the President proposed to Congress that the administrative and judicial powers of commissions be separated, but no action was taken. Others have proposed that special-interest groups, such as broadcasters, investment houses, or railroads, which are responsible to particular agencies, set up advisory committees to confer with commissioners on rules and regulations that are fair and enforceable.

Improving the Civil Service Closely related to the foregoing points are proposals to improve the administration of the civil service and attract a higher percentage of able men and women. Such improvement would include appointment and promotion on merit alone, without regard to political connections or other kinds of influence. It would involve better salaries for responsible civil servants and opportunities for able persons to rise to positions of honor and responsibility. It has been proposed that the duties of the present Civil Service Commission should be transferred to a Civil Service Administrator. The latter should be capable of supervising personnel and working out a government personnel policy. He would be advised and checked by a Civil Service Board serving without salary.

Improving Cabinet Usefulness The Cabinet, perhaps

enlarged, might cooperate much more closely with Congress, insist some reformers. Cabinet members now appear before congressional committees and make speeches on matters of policy. Too often, however, Congress learns the opinions of Cabinet Secretaries only through the newspapers. It has been proposed repeatedly that Cabinet members be required to appear before Congress at intervals and that they be permitted to introduce bills on the floor, though they could not

NUMBER OF CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES



From Faulkner & Kepner, "America, Its History and People," Harper Brothers

vote. This arrangement is quite possible without any change in the Constitution. It is argued that it would promote close cooperation between the President and the Cabinet, between Cabinet departments, and between Congress and the administration.

Developing Regional Decentralization and Planning.

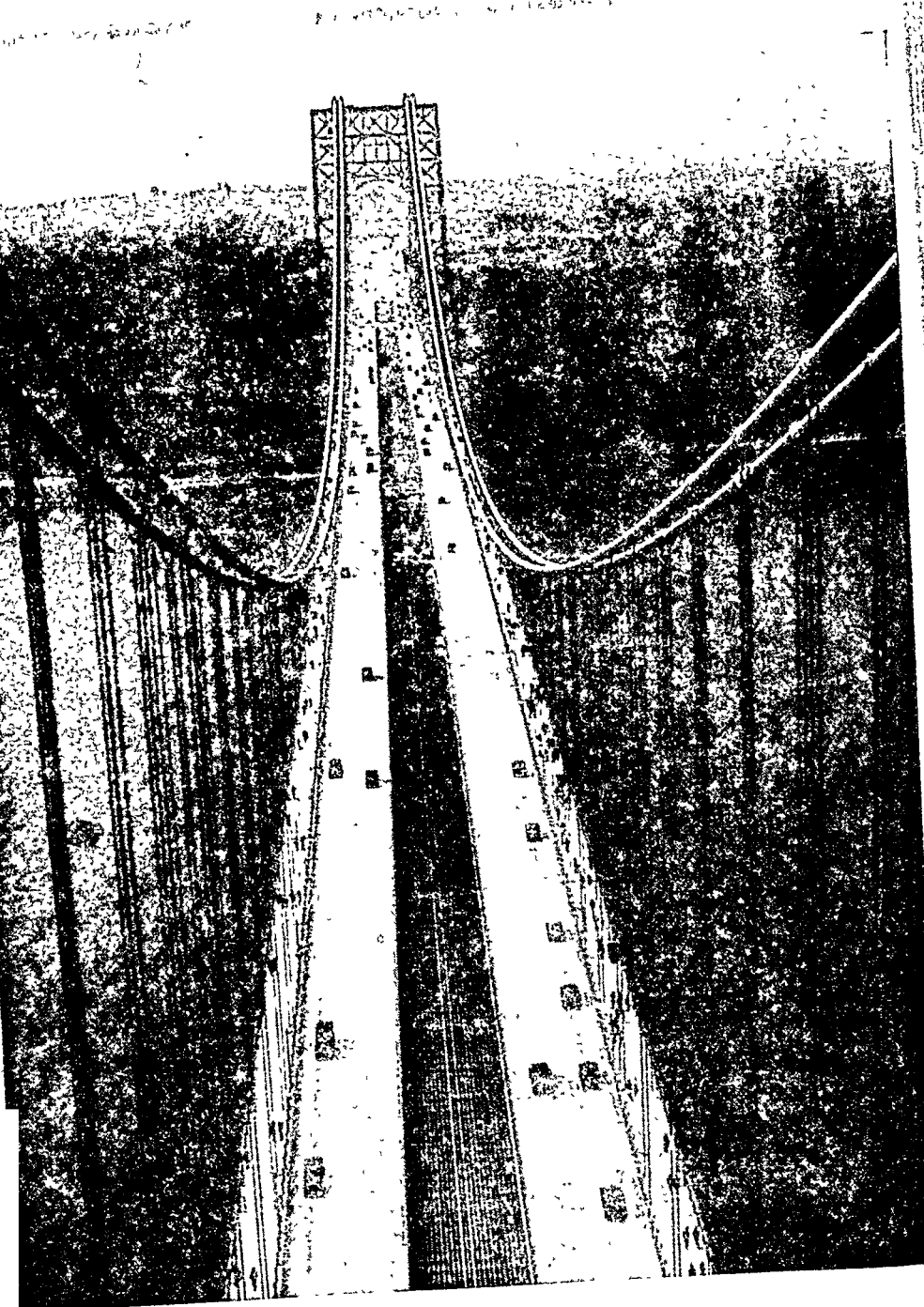
One of the most far-reaching plans for change is found in proposals for regional decentralization and planning. Many problems which have outgrown state boundaries can be met by interstate pacts on the basis of regional cooperation, it is claimed. There has already been much cooperation between states in sharing water rights from hydroelectric projects and in planning ways to meet transportation problems and

conserve natural resources. For example, the Port of New York Authority, created by the New York and New Jersey legislatures, has led to many improvements in that area. The Tennessee Valley Authority has planned and directed the unified social and economic development of a large area in the South. By regional planning the objections to federal centralization can be overcome, it is claimed, and a much wider future use of this procedure is foreseen.

Amending the Constitution Twenty-one amendments have been added to the Constitution since it went into effect in 1789. It is time, say some reform advocates, for one or more additional amendments giving Congress the power to pass legislation on problems of labor, child care, welfare activities, education, and other social matters. Congress and the Supreme Court should not be obliged to take refuge behind strained interpretations of "interstate commerce," "general welfare," "regulate," and "taxation." To face our problems frankly fixes responsibility in a democratic way. Objections to this course usually stress the dangers of further centralization.⁷

State Administration To a more limited extent the problems of administrative centralization which we have discussed appear in the state governments as well as the federal. This is especially true in the more wealthy and populous states. Though we lack space to discuss state problems, we should bear in mind that many of the same principles and remedies which have been proposed in this chapter apply to state administration. In fact, various states have proceeded somewhat farther than the federal government in overhauling administrative organization.

⁷Some critics declare that there is less apt to be objection to such an amendment from the people than from Congress and the special interests. They point out that some 3000 proposals for changes in the Constitution have been made in Congress. Of this number only 26 have been submitted to the states and only 5 of the 26 failed of ratification.



Photograph by Ewing Galloway

REGIONAL DECENTRALIZATION AND PLANNING

The George Washington Bridge connects New York and New Jersey. The work of the Port of New York Authority, it exemplifies what can be accomplished through interstate pacts, without federal control.

A Summary and a Look Ahead

In this chapter we have seen how the struggles for security and power going on in our society are reflected in government. Federal power and administrative centralization threaten us with "administrativeocracy" unless we can maintain popular interest and control and reorganize for increased efficiency. The alternatives to "big government," however, seem to be domination by business corporations or a constant battle for power between special interests. Hence, we are obliged to seek ways of improving administration, making it more responsible, and establishing checks to prevent the development of arbitrary power.

At this point we should remind ourselves that these problems are the present-day aspect of an age-old dilemma. How can we reconcile the apparent conflict between our desire for freedom and our desire for security? What steps will promote the greatest good of the greatest number? Can we learn how to use power, or must we merely continue to fear it?

In the next chapter we shall see how the struggles and compromises of the time are reflected in lawmaking processes. We shall then be ready to relate much that has been said to the greatest threat and the most uncompromising evil of our time—war.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. Make a list of the words which you think might give trouble in discussing this chapter. Contrast for the class the definitions of some of these words and the connotations which they might have for those taking part in the discussion.
2. Search for one magazine article relating to federal agencies. Does the article appear to you to be an impartial discussion or a partisan argument?

3. Let several members of the class select one federal agency on which to report. Among other points, seek information on the following topics from the *World Almanac*, encyclopedias, and textbooks:

When established	Principal services rendered
How organized	Criticisms
Central purposes	Defenses
4. Look up the doctrine of judicial review. When was it declared? How has it served as an instrument for the expansion of federal power?
5. Frame a debate question on Cabinet members being given the power to introduce bills in Congress. What are the issues? the principal points on each side?
6. It has been said that the nature of our party organization and campaign methods is partly responsible for the centralization of power in the administrative branch of government. Comment.
7. What are the arguments for and against the centralization of authority over education in the federal government?
8. Look up the discussions of federal and state "police powers" in one of the references. What is the scope of the power in each case? How has it been determined? (See Chapter 3.)
9. Search for information on the expansion of the "public relations" activities of federal departments and agencies. What advantages and dangers do you see in these developments?
10. What information can you find on the development of official information agencies and censorship during the First and Second World Wars?
11. Search for information on government corporations. How are they formed? Where do they get capital? What advantages do they have over bureaus and commissions for some kinds of federal activity?
12. Make note of the prejudices revealed by the authors in this chapter. Compare with lists previously made up.

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CHAPTER 11

WHO SHALL CONTROL THE CONTROLLERS? LEGISLATION

- I. LEGISLATION IN OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM
 - 1. Rule of the People
 - 2. Basis of Popular Rule in the United States
 - 3. Division of Legislative Authority
 - 4. Distribution of Legislative Power
 - II. ORGANIZING FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION
 - 1. The Organization of Congress
 - 2. The Speaker of the House
 - 3. Committee Procedure
 - 4. Conference Committees
 - 5. Presidential Leadership in Legislation
 - 6. State Legislatures
 - 7. Party Control
 - III. PRESSURE GROUPS AND LOBBYING
 - 1. The Sources of Pressure
 - 2. The Methods of Pressure Groups
 - 3. Factors Which Aid Pressure Groups
 - 4. Checks on Pressure Groups
 - IV. WHO SHALL CONTROL THE CONTROLLERS?
 - 1. The Services and Excesses of Pressure Groups
 - 2. Criticisms and Defense of Congress
 - 3. The Democratic Ideal
-

In Chapters 1 and 2 we discussed the group structure of society and the many influences which shape public attitudes and opinions. Chapters 5 to 8 we devoted to a study of

some of the basic problems over which the struggle between various social groups and interests is carried on. In the two chapters immediately preceding we have noted the ways in which the structure and methods of the major parties are influenced by this group conflict, and the administrative trends brought about by efforts to meet the many problems.

This chapter is especially a continuation of the line of discussion developed in the two chapters just preceding. How are our problems reflected in legislative halls? What is the underlying theory of lawmaking in our representative democracy? Are Congress and the state legislatures equal to the task of resolving the many conflicts of interest and shaping the policies which will strengthen the republic?

There are forty-nine state and federal legislative bodies in continental United States, namely the Congress and the several state legislatures. Their position is of the greatest importance, for they are the policy-making bodies of the government. The first step in meeting any problem is to study and debate it and enact a controlling policy into law. Legislators, as the directly elected representatives of the people, are charged with this responsibility. Biennially¹ the state legislatures act in some manner upon probably sixty to seventy thousand measures, the Congress upon at least half as many. But they are not always, or even often, able to resolve conflicts except temporarily. They compromise, evade, and frequently reverse themselves. Why is this true? Is it necessary and desirable? What trends give promise of improvements in legislative methods? In developing this topic, we shall discuss the Congress especially, with frequent reference to the state legislatures. This can be done because, first, most of the legislatures are modeled closely after Congress, and second, because the problems they face are essentially the same in kind.

¹Annually in four states



Photograph by Wide World

CAN THE PEOPLE RULE?

One of the most valuable weapons which all literate, adult citizens possess is their right to vote.

Legislation in Our Constitutional System

Rule of the People It is a glib commonplace to say that political democracy means rule by the people. But who are "the people," and how do they rule?

Except for brief periods, such as the age of Pericles in Athens, it is only in the modern era that the term "the people" has come to be an inclusive one. In Imperial Rome only a small fraction of the population received recognition in respect to life and power. Throughout the centuries of the Middle Ages an even smaller percentage of total numbers counted as making up the people who had rights. Later, the commercial and industrial revolutions in Europe broke the dykes that held back the flow of common, unnamed masses of men into the ranks of those who counted. Merchants first, then the laborers, then women, and finally minority racial groups eventually gained here and there the right to vote. More important, they became recognized as persons to be educated, planned for, and to have a share in planning. The United States and Great Britain took the lead among modern nations in extending the suffrage and civil freedom to increasing numbers.

Basis of Popular Rule in the United States A quarter of a century ago, G. Lowes Dickinson defined democracy as "the rule of the many with standards." What every democratic constitution does is to state certain standards or principles by which government is to be guided. The Constitution of the United States sets forth such principles, defining the nature of our government, outlining its organization, and stating how it may be changed.

In other words, the Constitution is a framework of basic law, to be enlarged by further legislation in accordance with the wish and order of "the people." In this way the people become articulate and conscious of themselves as a group.

Power resides in them, not because of numbers, but because they have the final authority to make and remake their own political institutions. They conceive of themselves as creating and using law of their own choosing, through their selected representatives, not as responding to the will of any individual or clique, nor as coerced or suppressed by force.

The central fact about "a people" is that they have a degree of unity. Without unity they are only numbers. Anything which seriously threatens the unity of a people is an attack upon its very existence.

Law is the organizing element around which and by which political unity is established. The power to make law is the basic power upon which the life of a people—its order and system, its rights and its freedom—is erected, and by which it is preserved.

Division of Legislative Authority. In our federal Constitution emphasis is placed upon the lawmaking function and its supreme importance. It is recognized that law must express the people's will. But because ours is a federal government, in which legislative authority is divided between federal and state legislatures, the question of the choice of representatives in the federal lawmaking body is left for each state to determine. For such questions as are considered federal in character, legislative authority is placed in the hands of a Congress of two houses, one representing states, the other representing people according to the numbers in each state.

Until the passage of the Seventeenth Amendment, two Senators from each state were chosen by the legislature of the state. Since the ratification of this amendment, the choice of the two Senators is determined by the vote of the people of the state. While the number of representatives who compose each house is determined, either directly or indirectly, by the Constitution, the question of who composes the peo-

ple, in the sense of who may vote, is left to each state to decide. Some limitations are established by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, resulting from the freeing of the slaves, and by the Nineteenth Amendment, which grants the suffrage to women.

Distribution of Legislative Power It is clear that the federal government is limited in its power to make law. The "people" of the United States "ordained and established" the Constitution. In doing so, they created the lawmaking body known as the Congress, which is thereby limited by the Constitution and by the people who are its makers. The Congress must act within the powers which are granted to it.

Moreover, lawmaking power of large importance is exercised by the legislatures of the states. This power is not subject to the control of the federal Congress; the division of power between Congress and the state legislatures is definitely established in the Constitution itself. Each has its own field of action. The evident intent of the Constitution is to set up a central legislative authority—the Congress—granting to it large power, but still leaving in the hands of the state legislative bodies many other important and independent powers. State legislatures, therefore, make laws as representatives of the people, except within fields which the Constitution hands over to Congress or forbids to the states.

The making of laws in the United States is thus limited, first, by the will of the people as expressed in the Constitution (itself a body of basic law), and second, by the division of the subjects for legislation between the federal Congress and the legislatures of the several states.

The powers of the Congress in legislation are defined in Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution. In this Article Congress is described as the legislative department.

The Constitution not only leaves large fields of lawmaking to state legislatures, as has been said, but it definitely denies to Congress the power to pass laws of certain kinds. In par-

ticular the first ten amendments (the Bill of Rights) are notable in that they set up as a basic principle of democratic lawmaking that the Congress is not absolutely supreme in its legislative authority. (See Chapter 3.) The people behind Congress are supreme and this people have certain rights reserved from interference by Congress.

The Constitution provides further that the President shall have a share in legislation. He is given the power to veto (Article I, Section 7), that is, to disapprove or nullify acts passed by the two houses of Congress. When both houses of Congress have agreed upon an act, it is sent to the President for his signature. If he disapproves of it, he may return it to the house in which it originated, explaining his reason for disapproval. Only by repassing the act in both houses by a two-thirds majority of the members voting can Congress enact it into law.

The President's power in lawmaking is increased further by his recommendation of legislation in regular and special messages to Congress (Article II, Section 3), and by his power to make treaties with other countries, with the consent of two-thirds of the Senate sitting in session. Treaties have the practical effect of law between countries as long as they are in force.

Another important influence on legislation is exercised by the courts through the practice of judicial review. By declaring laws unconstitutional and by decisions and interpretations which set precedents, the courts, especially the Supreme Court, restrict and guide legislation. We have discussed this power at length in Chapters 3 and 10.

Finally, in drafting the Constitution as our basic law, the right of citizens to change or amend it was recognized. Amending the Constitution is a form of legislating by the people or their representatives.

Summarizing what we have said regarding legislation, in theory our government is based upon these principles:

- 1 Recognition of the entire population as constituting the people
- 2 The idea that legislation is the expression of the will of the people through representatives
- 3 That these representatives of the people do not have unlimited legislative power, since the people reserve to themselves various rights upon which lawmaking may not infringe
- 4 That legislative power is shared by the Congress, the President, the courts, and state legislative authorities
- 5 That the amending power is a form of legislation

Organizing for Legislative Action

It is essential to keep the foregoing principles in mind as a basis for understanding legislation, but they are insufficient alone to give us a picture of the process by which laws are enacted. We have spoken of the idea that "the people" make up a self-conscious group, a unit, which they do in the sense of sharing power and taking part in a common organized way of life. But we know that there are many divisions of interest within our society. When a particular policy or a specific law is up for consideration, these conflicts of interest are apt to become very apparent, even more apparent than the underlying unity.

The organization which has been built up for action in Congress and the state legislatures is a practical recognition of the difficulties of their task. It is a recognition of the immense volume of business which must be transacted and of the partisan and group prejudices and pressures which are continually arising. This organization is "extra-constitutional", that is, it is not specifically provided in the Constitution, but it is not in conflict with it.

The Organization of Congress Let us note the organization of Congress, bearing in mind that the state legislatures have working organizations which are quite similar.

Congressional organization falls into two parts in each

house. These are (1) the machinery of the parties, majority and minority, and (2) the machinery of the house itself. They overlap and supplement each other, each having an important part in the legislative process. We sometimes hear the party machinery spoken of as "invisible," the house machinery as "visible," but this is a misleading idea, for there is no secret about party control.

Imagine that a new House of Representatives is to assemble in January, following an election the previous November. Since all Representatives serve two-year terms, organization must be perfected from the ground up. This is not as big a job as we might think, since the majority of Representatives have probably served one or more terms before and know exactly how to proceed.

Before the new House is called to order and the members take the oath of office, each party meets in "caucus." To a great extent the party caucus is all-powerful in the House. The minority party caucus selects a floor leader and a floor "whip" and designates members of a Steering Committee and of a Committee on Committees. The latter will select those persons who are to be elected later to the standing committees of the House. The majority party has a bigger job. It will have the controlling majority on all House committees and must select their members and their chairmen, as well as the Speaker, who is presiding officer of the House. It must name a Steering Committee, a Committee on Committees, a floor leader, and one or more "whips," who are to provide guidance and leadership when it sets out to use its strength in enacting a program of legislation.

The organization of the House follows the lines agreed upon in the party caucus. Though nominally the House as a whole is electing its presiding officer and committee members, actually it is merely approving the arrangements previously made in party councils. A member of the majority

party is elected Speaker, following which the various committees are elected

The House of Representatives has forty-seven standing committees at the present time. There may also be special committees making investigations from time to time. Committee appointments are a matter of the greatest importance because the committees carry on the most important legislative activity. Their membership and chairmanships are determined by the parties on the basis of seniority.

Senate organization is similar to that of the House. There are thirty-three standing committees and various special ones. The presiding officer of the Senate is the Vice-President of the United States, so it does not elect a Speaker. It does, however, elect a president pro tempore who serves in the absence of the Vice-President. Officers, committee appointments, and the order of business are all party-controlled in the Senate, just as in the House, though control is less rigid, due to smaller membership. Since Senators serve six-year terms, one-third expiring every two years, this body does not need to reorganize completely after each election.

The Speaker of the House. Leader and presiding officer of the House of Representatives is the Speaker. His office is provided for in the Constitution (Article I, Section 2). He presides over sessions, appoints special committees, decides disputed points of parliamentary law, signs documents, and represents the House at ceremonial affairs.

The Speaker is far more powerful, however, than this list of duties would indicate. He is the acknowledged leader of the majority party, chosen for his post by the party caucus. His position gives him a great deal of power, which he does not hesitate to use in the interest of his party. He works closely with all party committees, especially the Steering Committee and the Committee on Committees of the majority. He and the majority and minority leaders influence the

order of business and direct the course of debate, even to the extent of determining which Representatives shall speak, and for what length of time. The Speaker also confers frequently with the President about party-sponsored legislation, provided the two are of the same party, which they are as a rule.

Committee Procedure. A large part of the work of both House and Senate is carried on by committees. Membership of these groups is determined by the parties (the Committee on Committees), and is usually roughly proportional to the total representation of each party in that particular house. The same men are usually appointed to standing committees term after term, so that their membership becomes relatively permanent. Advancement toward the chairmanship of a committee is governed strictly by seniority, except under unusual circumstances.

The following list gives a few of the most important standing committees of both House and Senate:

<i>House of Representatives</i>	<i>Senate</i>
Agriculture	Agriculture and Forestry
Appropriations	Appropriations
Banking and Currency	Banking and Currency
Census	Commerce
Civil Service	Civil Service
Foreign Affairs	Foreign Relations
Interstate and Foreign Commerce	Finance
Irrigation and Reclamation	Interstate Commerce
Labor	Irrigation and Reclamation
Military Affairs	Military Affairs
Naval Affairs	Naval Affairs
Rules	Rules
Rivers and Harbors	
Ways and Means	

There are a few committees of the House which are of especially great importance and to which all members aspire. One is the Committee on Rules, which virtually controls the order of House business, working closely with the Speaker and the majority and minority floor leaders. Others are the Committee on Ways and Means, which has charge of revenue-raising measures, and the Committee on Appropriations.

Because of the special powers which the Senate has in treaty-making, its Committee on Foreign Relations is of great importance. The Finance Committee and Committee on Appropriations are also powerful.

Each bill introduced in either house is referred to a committee by the presiding officer. Some committees have fixed meeting days, others meet on call. The more important ones have rooms set aside for their use. A very large committee may be divided into subcommittees for special duties.

Quite often the committees hold open hearings on a pending measure. To these hearings come government officials, lobbyists for special interests, experts on the subject matter under consideration, and representatives of various interested associations and organizations. Such hearings bring forth much valuable information as well as a great deal of propaganda and "pressure." Of this subject we shall have more to say later.

Committee powers are very great, determining the fate of nearly all measures. The committee may report a measure favorably, unfavorably, or in amended form. It may even report out an entirely new bill to replace the original one. If antagonistic to a measure, the committee may "table" the bill or report it out so late in the session that there is no time to consider it. At least three-fourths of the bills introduced never get out of committee.

The great reliance of Congress on the committee system

of procedure has been warmly defended and roundly criticized. In its defense it is pointed out that the large size of the House and the prolonged debates in the Senate make committees essential. The vast volume of congressional business could not be transacted otherwise. Furthermore, it is argued, many questions involved in lawmaking are highly technical and require careful study. Long service on committees makes Senators and Representatives real experts on many problems. Committees enable them to summon the most capable persons available for advice and counsel.

Critics of the committee system do not recommend its abandonment but charge that it produces abuses and delays. Too large a percentage of business is carried on in committees, and these bodies have too much arbitrary power, it is claimed. Party domination and seniority rules too often bring to committee chairmanships or majority control men who are unqualified for their tasks. Hearings frequently provide less opportunity for expert testimony than for obstruction by lobbyists and publicity seeking by irresponsible sensationalists. The committee system of Congress should be revised, say these critics. The number of committees should be reduced, and each committee should be provided with a staff of clerks and research assistants. Provision should be made for close cooperation between Senate and House committees and with the various executive officers and agencies. We discussed these proposals in Chapter 10.

Conference Committees. To some extent the demand for closer cooperation between the houses is met by conference committees. It is here that the two houses iron out their differences when they cannot agree upon a measure. Ranking members of those Senate and House committees which have dealt with the measure previously, meet in joint session where they go over the bill item by item and agree on compromises. Abuses of conference committee procedure have

led to criticism. It is claimed that influential members of Congress here work in secret and recast legislation to suit themselves. To remedy this abuse it has been suggested that all committees from the two houses should work together much more closely and that conference committees should hold public hearings, and the vote of each member be recorded.

Presidential Leadership in Legislation An important element in party control and direction of legislation is the leadership often given by the President. Presidential leadership extends in practice far beyond the veto and the occasional messages which we have mentioned.

For instance, the President shares financial powers with Congress. Though no expenditure is legal until Congress has approved it, the President and his executive assistants make the budget. The President presents it to Congress in a special "budget message," and he discusses it with the press as a means of focusing the attention of the voters. By threat of veto he can keep financial matters in the public eye and thus force the congressmen in his party to support his program or openly rebel.

The most effective leadership of the President is exercised through party channels. As the nationally recognized head of his party, he can claim that the people have given him a "mandate" to carry out his idea of a program. If his party is in control of Congress, he often becomes the real legislative leader of his own administration. He confers often with the floor leaders and party whips, the Speaker of the House, and the chairmen and majority members of the standing committees. Also, he can make effective use of the party patronage, much of which he controls, as a means of keeping reluctant congressmen "in line."

Strong governors in the various states are also able to influence the programs of legislatures by similar methods.

State Legislatures. The legislatures of all states, Nebraska excepted, organize for action in much the same way as Congress. They are controlled by the parties, especially the majority party, and make use of standing and conference committees. Nebraska is an exception because this state has a unicameral legislature, which modifies procedure somewhat.

Party Control. The first division of this chapter made it clear that "the people" have a very real control over legislation in the United States by virtue of constitutional arrangements. This section has emphasized the fact that the parties, through their management of lawmaking machinery, are the immediate controlling agencies of the legislative process.

Recently, however, we see mounting evidence that there are other influences which affect lawmaking bodies and help to determine what kind of laws we shall have. We observe that congressmen and state legislators vote less often along strictly party lines and more often along lines determined by sectional, regional, or economic considerations. This brings up the question of the activities of the special interests and their representatives, the lobbyists. In the next few pages let us examine this problem.

Pressure Groups and Lobbying

The Sources of Pressure. The framers of the Constitution evidently thought of Congress as a body which could sit in leisurely deliberation because the number of questions brought before it would be limited. Most legislative questions, they assumed, would be dealt with by the state legislatures, and Congress would devote its deliberations to commerce, currency, taxation, defense, and other matters of clearly nation-wide importance. But they could not foresee the changes to be wrought by invention, industry, and rapid transportation, nor the extent to which these changes would

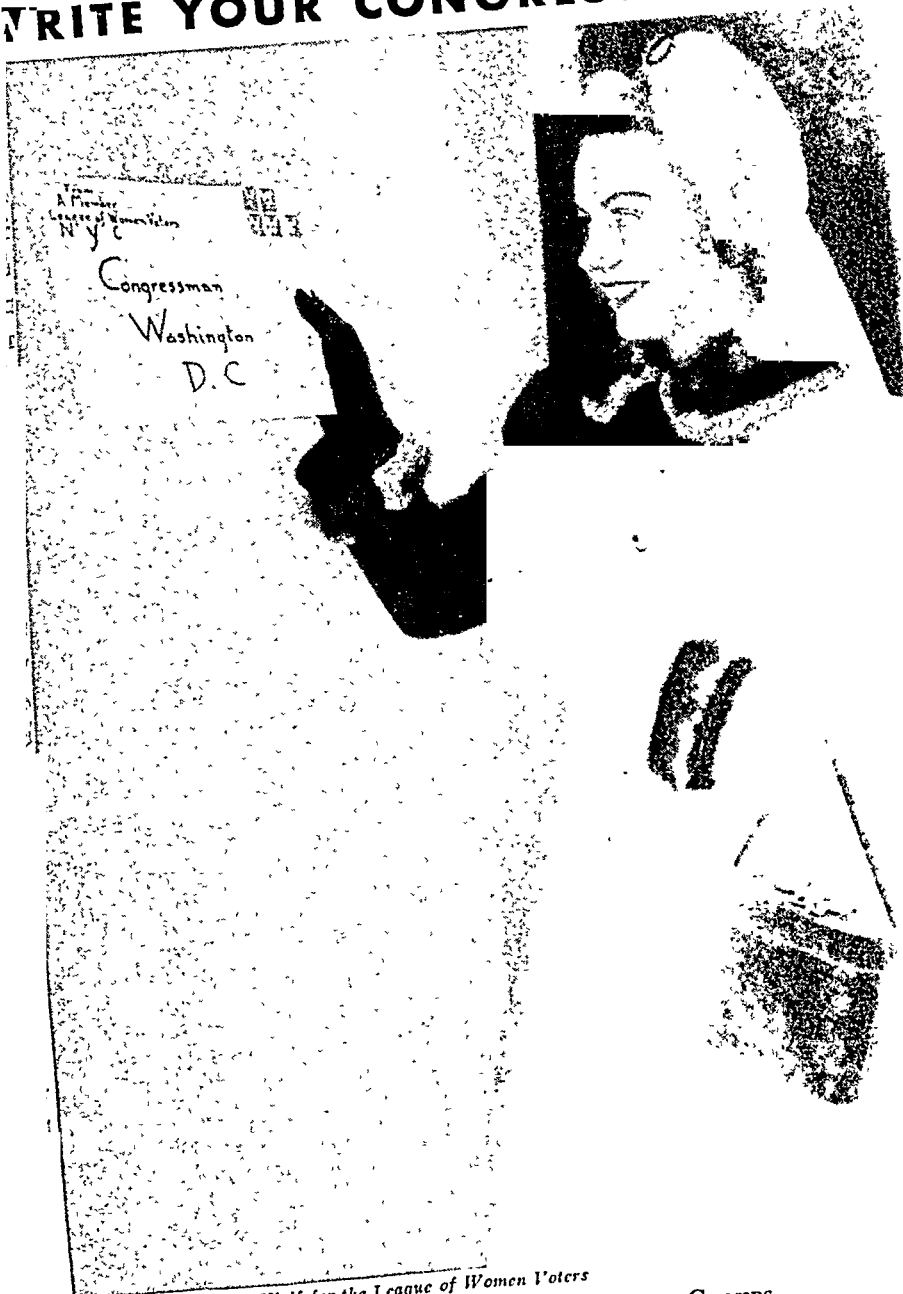
bring up complexities to be faced by those who make the nation's law

Today the national capital and most of the state capitals are the centers of operation for hundreds of groups and their representatives who wish to influence the course of legislation. Some of these operate only for short periods during legislative sessions. Others maintain offices and support an abiding host of lobbyists, "legal counsels," "public relations experts," and legislative "fixers." The personnel for the professional element in this body of unofficial legislators is often recruited from corporations, law offices, newspaper staffs, and former public officials.

The kinds of pressures felt by legislators reflect the many group interests and divisions of society. Some pressures are sectional or regional in nature, as when Southerners oppose a poll tax or Southwesterners want a dam constructed for irrigation. Others are from professional groups—physicians, lawyers, dentists, actors, osteopaths, and others. Educational bodies, such as the state and national teachers' associations, and reform bodies, such as consumers' leagues and temperance unions, are also well represented. There may be racial representatives, old-age pensioners, and bodies of public employees. Veterans have constituted a powerful lobby for many years, and recently the Army and Navy have been especially well represented in the halls and before the committees of Congress.

The most influential pressure groups and lobbyists, however, are representatives from labor, agriculture, and business. Within organized labor's ranks there are the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the Railroad Brotherhoods. Agriculture breaks up into various groups, such as the wool growers, the dairy-men, the cotton planters, and the sugar interests, and is further represented by the Farm Bureau Federation, the

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN TODAY



Photograph by Estelle Wolf for the League of Women Voters

THE METHODS OF PRESSURE GROUPS

To insure Congressional support of a measure, a group may urge thousands of citizens to write to their representatives urging consideration of a particular bill.

Grange, and the Farmer's Union. But most prolific in pressure groups is business—that is, industry, finance, and trade. Here we have not only such powerful organizations as the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Bankers' Association, but also scores of representatives of real-estate concerns, railroads, utilities, distilleries, steel manufacturers, miners, motion-picture companies, radio broadcasting companies, and armament firms, to mention only a few.²

The Methods of Pressure Groups The methods used to bring pressure on legislators are both direct and indirect. One direct method is by preparing bills and having them introduced by friendly members of a house. A considerable percentage of bills originate outside of legislative halls—studies indicate three-fourths of the total in some states. A second method is by appearing before legislative committees to present testimony for and against measures pending. Then there are personal contacts of various kinds with the legislators, which afford opportunity to present arguments and points of view.

The more obvious indirect methods include favors, flattery, and entertainment. Occasionally a legislator of elastic conscience is placed on the payroll of a corporation or may accept an outright bribe. It is doubtful, however, whether these methods are as successful as those which are designed to impress lawmakers with the idea that a given organization speaks the opinions of many voters. To build up popular support, a group which has sufficient money may promote radio appeals, send out circulars, provide editorials for friendly newspapers, advertise by billboards and otherwise, and urge thousands of citizens to write letters supporting a particular cause.

²Some groups are interested in restricting government agencies in some way as business agencies which want few government controls. Others want to extend the services and favor of government, as farmers who want subsidies.

Factors Which Aid Pressure Groups. Students have repeatedly called our attention to the factors which aid and to those which hinder the activities of pressure groups in influencing Congress and the legislatures. Let us note some of these points briefly:

1. *The complicated nature of public questions.* Legislators are forced to specialize in one or two fields, such as taxation or banking, and to rely on their fellow legislators and biased sources of information in making up their minds how to vote on other issues. Because questions are complex, the public is also easily misled or misinformed, and may give support to measures the results of which they do not foresee.
2. *Standing committees* are sometimes, though by no means always, an aid to the lobbyist. If the membership of committees is influenced too greatly by party "bosses" and special interests, the committees may be "packed" in such a manner as to favor certain groups.
3. *Conference committees*, too, may favor special groups at times by giving small bodies of the more conservative and partisan legislators an opportunity to change a bill in the interest of their friends.
4. *Bicameral organization* itself may favor those interests which wish to block a measure or measures. If lobbyists fail to stop the proposed act in one house, they may succeed in the other.
5. *Congested calendars* are usual in all lawmaking bodies toward the close of a session. At such times those interests which wish to defeat a measure may be able to do so if they can persuade a few members of the Rules Committee or the party Steering Committees to bring it up near the close of a session when there is not time to consider it.
6. *Unfairly conducted public hearings*, though not the rule, have been known to discredit a measure. A partisan chairman, or one who sets out deliberately to serve a special interest, can often select or favor persons whose testimony will serve his purpose.

- 7 *Methods of newspaper treatment* frequently aid lobbyists or special interests also. News stories may label the supporters or opponents of a bill "red" or "reactionary" and give a biased account of committee hearings and legislative debates. In some instances newspapers make open editorial appeal to readers to support or oppose a measure.
- 8 *Short legislative sessions*, usual in state legislatures, often aid pressure groups by enabling them to jam a measure through or to get it killed by inaction.

Checks on Pressure Groups. It is clear on a few moments' reflection that some of the factors in the foregoing list are as apt to hinder as to aid pressure methods and lobbying. Standing committees and open hearings, for instance, when properly conducted, might be the means of assuring a proposed measure full consideration with the very minimum of special influence on its fate. There are also other means by which special influence may be checked. Some of these are

- 1 *Investigating and interim committees* are often selected by lawmaking bodies. Interim committees serve between state legislative sessions. Investigating committees of Congress are apt to be in session at any time. Though a few such committees obviously are biased or controlled by publicity-seeking legislators, others have performed useful services. They investigate controversial problems and serve as a check on overzealous administrators.
- 2 *Registration of lobbyists*, with full information as to the sources of their financial backing, has been widely discussed and put into effect in some states. It is clear that this plan has great value, though there are many pressure group activities which it cannot reach.
- 3 *Reference bureaus* and other forms of special aid for legislators decrease their reliance on biased sources of information. Congressmen have access to the Congressional Library and its specialized aid, but they are often unable to make full use of this service because of the pressure of many duties.

4. *Legislative councils* have been established by several states since Kansas took the lead in 1933. Such bodies meet between sessions, prepare a program for the legislature, and direct research on the problems involved. This procedure informs legislators, speeds up activity, and reduces somewhat the opportunity for special influence.

Who Shall Control the Controllers?

The Services and Excesses of Pressure Groups. Lobbying and other pressure methods of influencing lawmaking have received a great deal of vigorous criticism and some able defense. Their defenders point out that the agents of such groups provide useful information to both legislators and the public. Also, they promote much valuable legislation. During legislative sessions they often give representation to groups and public elements not otherwise represented, such as women, children, churches, schools, and racial groups. Furthermore, they check up constantly on the progress of legislation and urge legislators to action.

Group divisions of interest are a perfectly normal and desirable development in democratic society, say these apologists. Pressure groups and pressure methods are to be expected. They change as society changes and form the very substance of economic organization. To attempt to eliminate pressure group activity is, therefore, futile. We should address ourselves to overcoming the worst abuses of the system by controlling and regulating propaganda, informing the public, and reorganizing legislative bodies so they will be more efficient. Ways should be worked out for recognized groups and their agents to cooperate with government agencies. Legislators and legislative committees should be provided with such additional help as they need to deal with the demands on their time. Such methods will tend to bring pressure politics into the open, where it will be beneficial.

Those who view pressure politics with concern usually concede various points of the foregoing argument. They acknowledge that pressure methods probably are inevitable and that remedies must be sought in their control. They acknowledge that efforts to restrain groups from misinforming the public and misrepresenting their influence before legislators have great value.

They insist, however, that such discussion does not get to the underlying dangers in pressure politics as they are developing in the United States today. To group together all organizations—racial, reform, religious, business, etc.—for purposes of discussion is misleading, they claim. Most organizations exercise a perfectly legitimate influence on lawmaking. The danger lies in the extreme power which a few kinds of groups—notably business, labor, and agriculture—are building up by pressure methods.

The most powerful pressure groups of the kind named make a determined effort to gain control of the government as a tool for their own purposes, it is claimed. Their leaders assume that what is useful or profitable to them is desirable for everyone else, and spend millions of dollars trying to convince a majority of the public that this is true. They influence the parties—and thus, indirectly, legislators and government administrators—by huge contributions of money and effort. They fight legislation which restrains them and promote laws which give them special privilege. In peace or war, their first consideration is their own welfare. "Government relations" have become one of their principal activities, as witness the behavior of such bodies as the National Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Political Action Committee of the CIO. The pressures exerted on government by these giants dwarf all other forms of organized group influence, it is alleged. They divide and confuse the public and make impossible



INDIRECTLY THROUGH PUBLIC OPINION

UNDER COVER		OPENLY	
WORK THROUGH "FAUNTS" AND "INNOCENTS"		RADIO	
BY USE OF ANONYMOUS PROPAGANDA		ADVERTISING	
		NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES	
		BOOKS & EDUCATION	

DIRECTLY TO CONGRESS & GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

OPENLY		UNDER COVER	
INFLUENCE ON PARTY PLATFORM		ELECTION OF FRIENDLY CANDIDATES	
INFLUENCE ON LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES		INFLUENCE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES	
		BY USE OF SOCIAL POSITION TO INFLUENCE PUBLIC SERVANTS & CONGRESSMEN	
		BY HAVING REPRESENTATIVES IN KEY ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS	



Graphic Associates for Public Affairs Committee, Inc.

How Pressure Groups Influence Government

any consistent program which will promote the general welfare

Remedies for this situation lie in changes more fundamental than laws to register lobbyists, though such things are useful, it is declared. The pressure politics of the giants indicate the need for far-reaching reforms of business and government along the lines indicated in various chapters of this book. They indicate the necessity for renewed emphasis on civic education fearlessly conducted, to the end that "the people" may remain unified in ideals and purposes.

Criticisms and Defense of Congress. As one aspect of the confusion of recent years, there have been some especially vigorous attacks made on Congress. This body, it has been alleged, is increasingly made up of incompetent men and women. A majority of its members are reactionary in opinion. They are incapable of taking a national point of view, and are more concerned with re-election than with public service. Congressmen are extravagant with public funds. Lacking leadership among themselves, they are subservient to the President and too anxious to please the special interests. Such are the critics' assertions.

Defense of Congress, on the other hand, has been immediate and thought-provoking. To attack the inefficient practices of Congress is one thing, we are reminded, but to attack Congress as an institution is another and much more serious matter. Inefficiency can be overcome, but Congress as a representative body which has the responsibility for policy formation and lawmaking cannot be spared unless we wish to abandon democracy. All over the world there have recently been attacks made on representative lawmaking bodies. The decline of legislative institutions in influence has made way for the rise of dictators.

The alleged extravagance of Congress has been exaggerated, it is claimed. The huge appropriations of recent years

have been made, often reluctantly, at presidential insistence and because of public demand. No one is more aware than congressmen that the same persons and groups that criticize expenditure today will demand special favors tomorrow. Of all the money appropriated from time to time, Congress spends only an insignificant fraction on itself. Its members work tirelessly without adequate equipment or sufficient help.

We can have more able representation and greater congressional efficiency at any time that large elements of the public want these changes, we are told. Congressmen reflect the interests, limitations, and abilities of the people who elect them. We should insist that congressional salaries be increased and that larger sums be appropriated for clerks and expert assistants to individual members and committees. Possibly the term of Representatives should be lengthened by constitutional amendment. We should make it clear to congressmen that we approve of overhauling the committee system and working out methods of closer cooperation with and control over executive agencies. Finally, we should make every effort to induce the most able men and women available to run for Congress. They should be supported by our votes and kept informed of our opinions. By such methods many of the abuses of which we complain can be overcome.

The Democratic Ideal. It should be kept in mind that the Constitution itself tends to protect, as well as to define, the power of the people in making law. It establishes a Congress, defining both its fields of legislation and its powers in reference to other departments of government. It recognizes the legislatures of the various states as lawmaking bodies with powers and rights of their own. And it recognizes also that the people retain rights free from the lawmaking authority of their own representatives. This makes it clear that the people themselves are by right the controllers of their own political life. They are the source of authority and power.

The essential problem in democratic lawmaking is to make this theoretical popular right both workable and real. It is the problem of so organizing our political and social life that the people shall have full opportunity and incentive to become well-informed upon public affairs. It is the problem, further, of how to raise high standards of knowledge and performance to be required of those chosen to make the law. It is the problem of how to choose leaders wisely, but not to follow them blindly. And most important of all, it is the problem of how to curb the power of those special interests which would like to undermine democratic rights and institutions.

These problems are real and grave. They are not to be lightly dismissed, but demand the use of all the power to think that we possess. They make the public business something other than a game of spoils. Instead, they make it an activity calling for a high order of ability, knowledge, and devotion to public welfare. The really great legislative leaders in our history stand out because they have these characteristics.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

- 1 Why are constitutions regarded as law? What is the meaning of the expression "liberty under law"? (See Chap. 3.)
- 2 What advantages result from the separation of government departments—legislative, executive, judicial? Compare the advantages with the disadvantages.
- 3 What arguments can be offered in support of a four-year term for members of the federal House of Representatives?
- 4 If a member of the state legislature lives near your school, ask him to talk to the class about the organization and work of the legislature. What questions will you ask him?
- 5 Search for information relating to the unicameral legislature of Nebraska. What arguments are offered for and against unicameralism?

6. What information can you find relating to the press corps in Washington? What services do they perform for the public?
7. Should congressional debates be reported at greater length in the daily press? Why are they not?
8. On the basis of this chapter and preceding ones, work out suggestions for closer cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of the federal government.
9. What is the annual cost of Congress to citizens of the United States? How does this compare with the cost of the administrative branch? the Army? the Navy? public schools?
10. From the references available, compile a list of agencies which maintain lobbies in Washington, D. C. Classify them as to kind.
11. List in parallel columns the dangers and the services of pressure government and lobbying.
12. Appoint a committee to prepare a report on legislative councils.
13. Arrange a debate on the question:
Resolved, That the federal government should require the registration of all lobbyists and their employers.
14. What loaded words are sometimes used in discussions of legislative bodies? Did you detect any in this chapter? Examine one or two editorials for illustrations.
15. Why is it imperative that Congress and the state legislatures be increased in efficiency and strengthened in personnel?

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World Almanac and any late textbooks available on government or political parties

CHAPTER 12

CAN WAR BE DEFEATED?

- I. THE ROOTS OF WAR
 - 1. War as a Phase of Human Culture
 - 2. The Causes of War
 - 3. Ideological Differences
 - 4. Nationalism
 - 5. Imperialism
 - 6. Militarism
 - 7. Technological Development
 - II. NATIONAL POLICIES AFFECTING PEACE
 - 1. Peace Begins at Home
 - 2. Mythological Thinking
 - 3. Can We Fall Back on Nationalism?
 - 4. Is This the American Century?
 - 5. Can We Avoid Militarism?
 - 6. National Policies Have International Influences
 - III. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND PEACE
 - 1. The League of Nations and the World Court
 - 2. Why Did the League Fail?
 - 3. Fundamentals of International Cooperation
 - 4. Problems of Communication and Education
 - 5. Problems of International Trade and Finance
 - 6. The Problem of Dependent Peoples
 - 7. The Problem of Armament
 - 8. The United Nations Organization
-

Gravest of all modern problems are those which arise from war. Like the peaceful forms of struggle which we have discussed, war is one traditional method by which man seeks

security. But our doubt of the value of war increases with each successive experience. The cost in blood and suffering has reached incredible proportions. The waste in economic resources is beyond human calculation.

The trail of horror and desolation left by war, and its apparent futility as a means of promoting human welfare and happiness, raise questions which occur again and again in discussion. Is not the institution of war itself the great enemy of our time? What causes perpetuate this evil through generation after generation? Will continued wars defeat the very ends of liberty and security that we seek?

These are not simple questions, because war is a complex institution. To study war thoughtfully is difficult at any time. It is particularly difficult today. Yet now is the very time when we must give thought to these problems—now before we are launched on the preliminaries to another conflict.

In this chapter we shall first discuss the nature and underlying causes of modern warfare. We shall then consider at some length various decisions as to future general policy which must be made by the American people. Following that, we can summarize the history and problems of recent attempts at international cooperation.

The Roots of War

War as a Phase of Human Culture War is a man-made institution. There is no shred of evidence that it is inherent "in the nature of things." It is true that the lower animals fight, but only man has erected fighting to the dignity of ceremony. Modern war has become a complex institution of human culture. We have developed military classes and set up legal controls and "rules of the game." The conduct of war is ceremonial, it is associated with uniforms, bands, medals, and other symbols which invoke feelings. Associated



graph by Black Star

CAN WAR BE DEFEATED?

Part of the trail of horror and desolation left by war—Gien, France.

with it, too, is a special vocabulary of impersonal terms which obscure its horrors.¹

Though the practice of war is one of the oldest evils in our culture, we have made little progress toward its control or elimination. Historic battles, such as Thermopylae, Tours, and Waterloo, involved losses of a few hundreds or thousands of fighting men, while civilian populations were undisturbed except in the immediate area where the fighting took place. Today's wars involve battle casualties by millions and civilian losses equaling those among the fighting men. Nor are wars less frequent than formerly. Professor Sorokin has listed 967 of what he calls "important" wars which took place from 500 B.C. to A.D. 1935, a war every two or three years for the past twenty-four centuries.² There have been a dozen or more bloody struggles during the memory of old men now living. The United States has fought six wars since 1812—one for each quarter century, not counting Indian fighting and minor border clashes. Three of the six have taken place since 1898.

War is the one practice in our culture that no one claims to favor yet everyone supports. This is partly because modern wars involve whole peoples and industrial systems, so support is exacted from everyone by government. But chiefly it is because the war system and its underlying causes have such a deep-seated hold on the human mind that we are unable to break the bonds of our mental conscription. War is an organized form of social behavior. It is supported by symbols, hero stories, and sentimental associations, as well as by the arguments offered for its frequent necessity. "The war mind is simply a habit of responding to stimulus in a way which is regular and approved in society. These learned

¹For instance, "so many vessels lost," "so many planes lost," "retreat to prepared positions," "disengagements," "casualties," "General ——— wins battle," "triumphal march," etc.

²P. A. Sorokin *The Crisis of Our Age*. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1941, p. 374.

ways not only show anger, but also the particular social ideas of how to express it."³ Men seek the approval of their fellow citizens. They therefore support war, its carnage and costs, not because they approve of it, but because they are unable to see how to avoid it.

The Causes of War. War is *provoked* by immediate incidents, such as Sarajevo or Pearl Harbor, but it is *caused* by underlying conditions and trends. For instance, little progress could be made in understanding the Second World War if we should start the study with the Polish invasion by Germany and consider only what took place thereafter. If we want to think in terms of putting an end to war and establishing enduring peace, we must face, in as well-informed a manner as possible, the underlying causes which promote disagreements and violent conflicts in the modern world. Let us discuss briefly five such underlying causes, as follows:

Ideological differences

Nationalism

Imperialism

Militarism

Technological development

Ideological Differences. The different ideas and values held by the peoples of various nations, called their ideologies, have always been an underlying reason why war is possible. They also affect the conduct of war and complicate the efforts to arrive at peace terms when hostilities cease. History texts recount the medieval and early modern struggles between Mohammedans and Christians and between Catholics and Protestants. Before and during the First and Second World Wars there was much emphasis on the German myth of race superiority and on the conflict between fascist and

³Beach, W. G., and Walker, E. E. *Social Problems and Social Welfare*. Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1937, p. 374.

democratic ideals of freedom. The Pacific fighting of the Second World War was especially bitter because of the feeling among many men on each side that traditional ideas of race superiority must be upheld.

Differences in race, religion, and economic ideas also lead to peacetime policies which create resentments, as in the case of high tariff acts and restrictive immigration laws. When the danger was most apparent during the Second World War, many Americans and British had a strong feeling of unity with Russia and China. But as the end of hostilities neared, the old suspicions based on "the yellow peril" and the "communist" fears of pre-war days were once again freely expressed.

The question is often raised as to why war supports more closely united efforts within nations than are continued after hostilities cease. The answer is found in the possibilities of ideological appeal. Every war is one of "survival," when once begun, so fear for their way of life can be used effectively as an appeal to the people for action. One purpose can be made central—or more largely so than usual—and it can be rooted in traditional love for freedom and homeland. The ideals of the nation are temporarily symbolized by live leaders, tales of whose exploits replace the hero tales of the past. Those elements of the population who find war financially profitable can afford to spend time and money in efforts to promote unity. Political and military leaders, realizing that modern wars are between whole nations and economies and can be lost by internal dissension, make the development of emotional solidarity at home the very foundation of strategy. In the Second World War, Premier Stalin appealed to Russian love of homeland, Premier Churchill to the illustrious record of the "tight little isle" and her colonies, President Roosevelt to the American willingness to crusade for human liberty.

Nationalism. The division of the world into national states, with all its attendant loyalties and rivalries, is called *nationalism*. This is one of the most obvious features of the modern world. Twenty-one independent nations exist today in the Western Hemisphere alone. Before the Second World War, there were fifty-odd separate and independent nations in the world.

The development of nationalism began near the close of the Middle Ages. Loyalty to feudal lords was supplanted by loyalty to kings. During the period of the American and French revolutions, the idea developed that men owed loyalty not to the ruler but to the nation itself. Men began to think of themselves as citizens, not subjects. England, Portugal, Spain, and France were the first strong nations in Europe. Other nations developed slowly over a period of three centuries. Italy and Germany were not completely unified until the late nineteenth century. Meanwhile, the idea of nationalism was developing in other parts of the world. The United States emerged as a nation near the close of the eighteenth century, the Latin-American states a few decades later. Shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century, Japan came out of seclusion and began her climb to world prominence and power. The idea of nationalism began to stir the vast millions of China as the twentieth century opened.

Nationalism has played an important role in the development of world civilization. It has united large bodies of people under uniform bodies of law. Life and property were thus protected and the nations could develop internally. Educational systems and the customs and ideals of the people could become matters of pride and the bases of constructive achievement.

Other aspects of the growth of nationalism, however, have led it to become a constant threat to world peace, and thus a threat to the life and welfare of the masses of men. In the first

place, nationalistic spirit has developed to extreme forms. Scores of movements for national independence have come about among peoples who have language and customs in common. In Europe and the Near East the Irish, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Croats, the Latvians, the Lithuanians, the Estonians, the Arabs, the Armenians, and other groups have each sought to be united as a nation. Today the Philippines, India, the Malay states, the Dutch Indies, and others cherish nationalistic ambitions. Fifteen new national states were created at the close of the First World War. Most of these had only limited economic resources. Some were partly composed of unhappy minority groups, such as the Serbs in Yugo-Slavia and the Germans in Czecho-Slovakia.

Second, there has been an increasing tendency for nations to look upon themselves as economic units. The raw materials which form the basis for manufacturing are not evenly distributed throughout the world. Commercial interests inside the larger nations, eager to secure raw materials and extend their sale of manufactured goods, have used their governments as spearheads. Little effort has been made to establish trade conditions which would make it possible for the people of all nations to secure raw materials and markets and thus raise their standards of living. Instead, trade barriers have been set up, colonies and protectorates established, and other efforts made by the powerful nations to control the world's goods. As rivalries have developed, armament races have come about between the larger powers. This tendency toward "economic nationalism" has been directly opposed to the trends set up by improved industry and communication. The latter have tended to draw people together, the former to separate them. Today, at a time when the world is rapidly becoming one big economic unit, we have a revived clamor for the creation of new national states.

Finally, the growth of nationalism has been accompanied

by the spirit of chauvinism, or extremely narrow patriotism. The sensational press and jingoist societies in every nation have loudly proclaimed intolerance and bigotry. Nationality and race have been confused in popular thinking. Schools have distorted history. Literature, popular songs, and movies have encouraged the chauvinistic spirit. Thus suspicion has been cultivated among peoples who might otherwise have been friendly. The stronger nations have failed to take the lead in a search for ways to create peace and prosperity.⁴

Imperialism. Nationalism and world trade have become the parents of a vicious child, imperialism. This is the policy or practice of nations seeking to extend their control to include empires. The story of the growth of imperialism is familiar to you from your study of world history.

Largest of existing empires is that of Great Britain, which includes 12 million square miles and over 450 million people. The French, Italians, Germans, Belgians, and Dutch have long been earnest rivals of the British. Even little Portugal has retained control of 838,000 square miles and almost 15 million people. The United States and Japan joined the imperialist parade some fifty years ago. The United States reached out for Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippine Islands, and the Panama Canal. Japan seized Korea and other territory on the Asiatic mainland and sought and received various Pacific Islands after the First World War.

The objects of imperialistic policies at first were to secure raw materials and create markets for manufactured goods. Later, capital accumulated so rapidly that banks and wealthy persons in industrial nations sought new investments,

⁴Writes Susanne Langer, the philosopher, ". . . Mankind is never without its social symbols; when old ones die, new ones are already in process of birth; and the new gods that have superseded all faiths are the great national states. The conception of them is mystical and moral, personal and devotional; they conjure with names and emblems, and demand our constant profession and practice of the new orthodoxy called 'Patriotism.'" "The Lord of Creation," in *Fortune*, January, 1944, p. 127.

so capital as well as goods began to move into undeveloped areas of the world. These markets, trade routes, and investments looked much better to the men who took the risks if they could have protection by the home government. The slogan "trade follows the flag" became popular. Each of the leading industrial nations reached out after colonial areas whose governments they could control. Sometimes these areas were made "protectorates" by means of treaties. In other cases they were annexed outright and became colonies. Where neither of these methods was possible, imperialist powers sought "leaseholds" or "spheres of influence" within other countries, notably China, by agreement with the government. After the First World War, certain territories wrested from Germany and Turkey were turned over to various powers as "mandates." The powers were supposedly responsible to the League of Nations for the way they governed the mandates, but certain of the nations, especially Japan, ignored this fact and treated the areas as though they were annexed territory.

The Second World War gave imperialism a new direction. The trend was for the largest of the victorious United Nations to divide the world into "spheres of influence." Each sphere would be dominated by one great power—such as the United States, Great Britain, or Russia—which would take the principal responsibility for promoting trade and keeping the peace. The small nations of the world looked upon this idea fearfully as dangerous to themselves and as a threat of bigger future wars if regional rivalries should develop. Within Great Britain and the United States opinion was divided. Some persons seemed to think the system desirable because it would stimulate industry and afford a means by which the threat of force could keep peace. Others feared that the real threats to peace were from the big powers themselves, and saw in the new imperialism the danger

of huge armaments, crushing taxes, and rivalries for power between increasingly strong foes.

For two generations a debate has raged as to whether the imperialist system has conferred benefits upon the world equal to the harm that it has done. Those who cite the benefits maintain that native peoples have had their living standards raised and their resources developed. Moreover, they argue, the prosperity of the entire world has been advanced as raw materials have been made available. Communication lines have been developed and world unity increased.

Opponents of imperialism argue that native peoples have usually gained a taste for the white man's vices without benefiting from his civilization. Backward areas have been drained of their resources for the profit of foreign investors, while the native populations have been held in virtual wage slavery. Imperialism has retarded the development of self-government and democratic practices among peoples who are potentially self-governing even while it brought ideas of nationalism and freedom to them. Finally, it is charged, imperialism is responsible for the intense rivalries and exaggerated nationalism which have kept the industrial nations armed camps subject to the crushing financial drains of frequent wars.

Militarism. The term militarism is used to signify the disposition of nations to maintain strong military forces and the accompanying public attitudes exalting military methods and ideals. Militarism is an outgrowth of various factors. Tradition is an important influence, as in Germany, where the Prussian Junkers have constituted a professional military class for several generations. National fears and rivalries and imperialistic ambitions also develop militarism. Napoleon made the French the most feared and hated people in Europe for a generation or more. Prussian militarism was consolidated and reorganized against the French three-quar-

ters of a century ago. It then developed its own dreams of conquest. The Soviet Union, ringed by nations which it regards as probable future enemies, has recently organized its entire national life to build and maintain the world's most formidable armies. The militaristic spirit, wherever developed, is enhanced and glorified by chauvinistic literature, jingoism, race mythology, sensational journalism, nationalistic education, and various kinds of ceremonial mummers. Herr Goebbels, who boasted that he would conquer the world by words, understood the value of using all such means of conscripting the German mind.

Militarism and swollen armaments are invariably justified by their apologists on the ground that they are necessary to keep the peace and to enable the imperialistic powers to discharge the "white man's burden" toward the uncivilized and unarmed colonial peoples. Skeptics of such claims frequently point out that, since the days of ancient Rome, the bloodiest wars have invariably been fought between those powers which have constituted themselves the moral conscience of their unarmed brethren. Critics point out that militarism creates both professional groups whose business it is to fight each other and whose glory depends upon opportunities to use their training, and business groups which profit by providing the sinews of war.⁵

⁵William W. Lockwood points out that Japan's development of nationalism, imperialism, and militarism was motivated by considerations of race, food and fear. The Japanese ruling classes wanted to become dominant in the Far East. They wanted raw materials and foreign markets to supplement the limited resources of their nation. And they feared the western powers, with some reason. He adds: "These drives, however, have always been linked with, and have been cover for the ambitions and insecurities of privileged groups within Japan. They have provided the national slogans under which her militarists and business men have contended for the power and profits accruing from imperialist activity and used succeeding national crises to scatter and suppress the liberal opposition at home." "War and Economic Welfare in Japan," in *War as a Social Institution*, J. D. Clarkson and T. C. Cochran, Editors, Columbia University Press, 1941.

To the extent that armament is an indication of the martial spirit, we have ample cause for alarm. Five years before the First World War, the nations were spending one and one-half billions annually for arms. Shortly before the Second World War, they were investing over ten times that amount. Today, even these vast sums appear paltry beside the arms expenditures recently made in a world which talks constantly of ways of keeping peace.

Technological Development. Underlying imperialism, militarism, and war—and making them possible—is the progress in technology, or industrial science, which we have discussed in previous chapters. Technological skill creates the machines of modern destruction. It underlies the vast productivity of industry which stimulates imperialistic rivalries. It makes possible the intensive campaigns of propaganda which create a warlike frame of mind among national populations and unite them for supreme effort.

But there are more subtle ways in which the use made of technological skills may move nations toward war. We have noted in other chapters that modern industrial methods produce goods much more skillfully than they are distributed. This leads to economic depressions, unemployment, poverty, and general unrest among the people of industrial countries. Under such conditions the statesmen of some nations may decide to arm heavily and seek raw materials and markets by the threat of force. Though this method exhausts the nations' resources and leads in a few years or decades to even more widespread suffering and poverty, this fact is ignored. Industry profits temporarily by increased production, workers find employment in "preparedness" industries, and temporary prosperity results until the inevitable conflict begins. Both Germany and Japan adopted this false method of attempting to solve their problems before the Second World War.

This does not mean that we shall continue to have wars unless we abandon our gains in technology. It does mean that war will remain an ever-present danger unless we solve our internal economic problems.

National Policies Affecting Peace

Peace Begins at Home When we think about preserving peace in the world, many of us are inclined to think only in terms of some form of international organization for co-operation. Certainly this is important, and there are vital decisions which the citizens of the United States and other nations must make as to what kind of organization will be the best in the long run.

Thoughtful persons often point out, however, that peace, like charity, begins at home. The underlying causes of war make it easy to provoke fighting because they influence the policies of nations and the ideas held by their citizens over long periods of time. If we wish to do our full share in ending war and promoting peaceful world-wide cooperation, we should examine critically our own ideas and practices. Do large numbers of Americans hold ideas, dictated by feeling rather than reflection, which make it difficult for us to understand other peoples and cooperate with them? Do our various educational agencies—schools, churches, newspapers, movies, radio, etc.—make contributions to real international understanding? Have we statesmanlike leadership in politics and international relations? Which of our policies are most apt to promote suspicion and ill will among other peoples? Can we adjust our internal economic affairs without taking thought for the rest of the world? In short, can we get at the roots of war which flourish in the soil of our homeland?

In this section let us consider briefly how national policies, particularly those of the United States, might affect world peace.

Mythological Thinking. There are people whose attitudes toward cooperation both at home and abroad are due to the uncritical acceptance of myths; that is, ideas which have no scientific foundation and the origin of which has been forgotten. An example is the myth of innate racial differences, which we discussed in Chapter 4. Bolstered by this myth, the most stupid and ignorant white man sometimes feels superior to the most cultured yellow or black man. Acting on this myth in world affairs is not apt to promote peace and security. As we saw in Chapter 4, the white race is greatly outnumbered by the colored peoples of the world, nor have we a monopoly on the world's resources. As the colored peoples develop leadership and industrialize their countries, they are apt to turn to war if that is the existing method of settling international disputes.

A variant of the race myth which is especially prevalent is the idea of "the yellow peril." This myth was popularized in the United States a few decades ago by writers who were influenced by the French philosopher de Gobineau. It has built up prejudice against the Chinese as well as the Japanese and makes difficult the task of cooperation in Pacific relations.

Other myths frequently accepted by Americans relate to economic affairs. One example will suffice. There is often an uncritical acceptance of the idea that we should always have a "favorable balance of trade." This belief had its origin in the economic theories held by statesmen about the time of the American Revolution. It was then thought that the wealth of a nation was to be measured entirely in the amount of gold it held. The object of the larger trading countries was to use their colonies to supply raw materials for manufacture in the home country. The manufactured articles were sold abroad in as large quantities as possible. Trade balances were then collected in gold, and each nation made an effort to sell

more than it bought in order to accumulate as much as possible of this metal. Today statesmen know that international trade is a form of barter and that the nation which wants to sell abroad must also buy abroad. But in enacting tariff laws and making trade treaties, our statesmen continue to behave, with public approval, as though it were an act of Yankee shrewdness to shut out foreign goods as completely as possible. Such behavior on our part clogs the channels of trade and leads to world-wide depressions and international quarrels.

A third dangerous myth is the idea that peace can be enforced. You will see on a moment's reflection that order may be enforced, but not peace. Here in the United States the police enforce order, but we continue to have many conflicts among ourselves. The police can minimize conflict and maintain order because we regulate our relations by law and settle our disputes in courts. Hitler turned Europe into a shambles when he tried to make every person conform to his personal will and enforce his decrees by armed force. It is well for those who long for enduring world peace to keep this idea in mind.*

"National sovereignty," as that phrase is often used thoughtlessly, is also a dangerous form of myth. The idea of each nation as a completely independent sovereign power arose in the period when kings claimed to rule by divine right. Nations were their personal domains, kings were sovereign over their subjects. Gradually the idea of sovereignty was transferred from the king to the State itself. The word came to be used as though it meant, not alone freedom from

*Commenting on this idea, Dorothy Thompson wrote in her syndicated column in August, 1944:

"Civilized states, which have banished war from internal affairs did not do so by first creating an army to arrest, punish and guard those who were not peace-lovers. They organized deliberative bodies to make laws, elected or appointed courts to judge them and organized a police force to enforce the order defined in the laws. The police are there to support law, and the result is peace."

outside interference in internal affairs, but freedom for any nation, which was strong enough, to act as it pleased, regardless of the welfare of other nations. Today, when there is need for international cooperation, there is invariably a good deal of meaningless talk about how governments will cooperate if they do not have to give up any of their sovereignty. Such talk overlooks the fact that *sovereignty is an idea*, not a tangible possession like land. Every nation "modifies its sovereignty" by treaties, trade agreements, postal agreements, asking other governments to protect its citizens abroad, and by cooperative arrangements relating to the slave trade, the opium traffic, and the international protection of labor. During war the nations share naval and air bases and treat prisoners according to an international code. We accept these things as excellent because they are specific acts that we can understand and we do not identify them with the mysterious "national sovereignty" that we hear so much about.⁷

Says Vera Micheles Dean, "The only state that could claim to be truly sovereign is a totalitarian state like Germany or Japan, which refuses to abide by rules of conduct acceptable to other nations—and even the totalitarian state, as we now see, is not invulnerable. Only to the extent that all nations accept certain limitations on their 'absolute' powers—such as the power to wage war, or exclude the goods of other countries—can they really hope to create an international community in which all can enjoy a measure of stability and security. Today, when sovereign kings have well-nigh vanished, sovereignty ought to reside not in individual rulers, but in the peoples. The people of each nation should decide whether, by voluntarily accepting certain limi-

⁷The idea of "national sovereignty" is used by those opposed to international cooperation in much the same way that the idea of "states' rights" was long used to restrict the power of Congress in the United States.

tations on the sovereignty of all nations, they may or may not improve their chances of survival and decent living”⁸

Can We Fall Back on Nationalism? Public-opinion polls made in 1943 and 1944 indicated that 25 to 30 percent of the American public were either opposed to the United States taking part in international organization or were undecided. We have no indication as to exactly what policy this substantial minority favored. Some of the group probably favored our “going it alone” in the world. Others may have inclined toward a system of military alliances with certain other strong powers. Whatever the specific policies favored by individuals, it is apparent that all this group agreed at the time in wanting to fall back on some form of nationalism. It is probable that, though the percentage varies from time to time, there is always a fairly large proportion of the population who feel that nationalistic policies are more “realistic” and afford more security than international cooperation.

The arguments for the United States acting alone, as far as this policy is practicable, frequently include the following points. This policy is “realistic,” it is said, accepting world politics as they are actually carried on. No really effective international organization is possible today because the big powers do not want it. An organization which will keep the peace permanently must rest on international law. It must progress by the cooperation of the *people* of the nations. But the most influential elements in Great Britain, France, Russia, the Netherlands, Australia, and even the United States, do not favor this kind of organization. They want an organization which will be nothing but a continuous conference of diplomats acting without responsibility to the people at home. They want the great powers to dominate this

⁸Vera Micheles Dean, “On the Threshold of World Order” Foreign Policy Association, 1944 p. 16

organization and to back it by armed might in order to maintain empires and prevent smaller nations from becoming strong. Such policies will lead to jealousies, rivalries, and wars on behalf of other people. It would be much wiser for the United States to act alone, such persons claim. We could set an example of good neighborliness for the world. By throwing our power behind first one nation and then another, we could maintain the "balance of power" and thus help keep the peace.

In opposition to such arguments for "isolated" nationalism, it is contended that this road is the most certain way to war. The necessities of modern trade and communication make us part of the world whether we wish it or not. To get along in the world we must emphasize our likenesses to other people, not the way we differ from them. We must recognize that our own economic system cannot be strong and stable unless we trade with other nations. Nationalistic policies would lead to high tariff laws, trade rivalries, immigration policies based on race prejudice, and other causes of international friction. "Balance of power" politics would lead to inevitable military alliances and thus to war, just as they have done in the case of Great Britain time after time. Accepting the idea of world organization, it is argued, does not mean accepting any particular kind of machinery as permanent. Let us join an organization, then strive to make it represent the peoples of the world, not administrations and armies.

Is This the American Century? A small but extremely vocal element of opinion in this country has declared in favor of a policy of open and vigorous imperialism. As a reward for our participation in the Second World War, say these people, we should demand the right to seize or purchase whatever islands in the Pacific and the Caribbean we think necessary to protect our possessions and our future trade

routes. We should stud these islands with naval and air bases. Our naval and air forces should remain as large as or larger than any in the world and our military forces must be numerous and well equipped.

A policy of this kind, it is argued, will afford the only genuine security, that of armed might. It will open new markets and raw material sources and stimulate an era of business prosperity. It will help to stabilize employment by keeping large numbers of young men on the public payroll in the military and naval forces. World peace will result, for we shall thus become the allies of the British in "stabilizing" and protecting the world's colonial empires. Many peoples throughout the world will welcome this arrangement, for they know that we are not a warlike people and that the peace of the world will be safe in our hands. The next one hundred years will become known as "The American Century."

Opposition to imperialistic proposals is cogent and bitter. If the outcome of the world's upheaval is nothing more than to impose an American imperialism on the Caribbean, the Pacific, and perhaps other areas, then a third world war is certain, say the critics. To have Britain and her domains for allies in no way purifies or justifies our adoption of a policy which we have fought a war to prevent the Axis powers from adopting. A policy of the kind would divide the world by turning the eyes of colonial peoples everywhere away from us as their hope for freedom. It would fasten all the evils of imperialism on millions who have always looked upon the United States as the champion of idealism. It would further centralize our government, enlarge our debts and taxes, and increase the power of giant corporations and international cartels. (See Chapters 5 and 10.) Common men throughout the world would lose ground in the fight for social justice and eventually be set at one

another's throats in a war to protect a trade system from the very people who should be profiting by it.

Can We Avoid Militarism? Either extreme nationalism or imperialism, as their supporters conceive them, involves reliance on armament. There are many persons who apparently regard such reliance as desirable, even inescapable. The undoubted expense of large naval, military, and air forces will be worth the cost if it keeps the peace, say its champions, even though it forces citizens to continue under heavy taxation. Critics of this course argue that arms are a futile reliance for peace because they are intended in the first place to enforce the very policies which create friction. Furthermore, they say, the various armament proposals made will involve annual expenditures by the United States of from 8 to 12 billion dollars per year, a greater sum than the entire world was spending for this purpose a few years ago. If we add a few billion dollars for operation of the federal government, several billion for veterans' benefits, probably 6 billion or more for interest on war debts, and the cost of local and state government we shall have a burden of taxes unprecedented in time of peace.

The most frequently debated issue in this connection is whether the United States shall adopt and retain a policy of peacetime military conscription of youth. Various plans agree in proposing that all physically fit boys of ages seventeen to twenty-one be compelled to undergo one year or more of military training.

Those who favor this plan argue that we must face the fact that a third world war may develop during the lifetime of men now living. Compulsory training will provide us with roughly a million men each year as the nucleus of a fighting force. The cost of building this force will not exceed 2 billion dollars per year, which is cheaper than maintaining a large army, navy, and air force. The resulting strength

will provide us with the means of either bluffing or defeating future aggressors

If we do not engage in war, continues this line of argument, compulsory military training will provide other benefits which will justify its existence. It will discipline youth, build character, and teach personal restraint and civic obedience. Americans will be made aware of their duties and obligations as citizens. The trainees will benefit physically, thus raising the health standards of the nation. If boys are trained before they go to work, there will be little dislocation in industry and trade. There is no reason why we should become militaristic, for we can abandon the plan once peaceful world conditions have been restored. Proponents of peacetime conscription usually cite Switzerland as an example of its benefits.

Opponents of this scheme argue that there is no military necessity for any such measure. They ask what nations we have to fear with Germany, Italy, and Japan exhausted. Furthermore, they declare, not manpower but industrial power is the determining element in modern war, as evidenced by the victories of the United States and England in both world wars.

Those who support peacetime conscription are the same persons and organizations that favor imperialism, it is charged. They usually want not only compulsory military training but also large navies and air forces.⁹ They would alter our peaceful policies of 150 years and exalt the military above the civil agencies of government. It is significant that the most ardent champions of conscription are

⁹In the autumn of 1944 the suggestions of the military and naval authorities were for an additional force of 700,000 men for Army and Air Corps and 1,600,000 men for the Navy including Coast Guard and Marines—a total of 2,300,000 men. Probably 1,000,000 men would be called up annually by conscription. The estimated total cost was about 8 billion dollars per year.

unwilling to try a voluntary system, with attractive pay for trainees, as a peacetime measure. They prefer a method that will inculcate unthinking obedience to command, not the self-imposed and thoughtful discipline which democracy requires. Military and naval men are not the persons to engage in educational and health activities. The incidental benefits which they claim for their training could be conferred on far larger numbers of the population if one-half the cost of conscription should be added to our school and health expenditures, especially if the program is begun in infancy and childhood. To cite Switzerland as an example for us to follow is misleading. This little country could have been conquered in a few weeks by any of the large nations in the Second World War, but was unmolested because of its usefulness as a neutral clearinghouse. France and Germany provide better examples, for they are the powers which have enforced peacetime conscription longest and most systematically.

National Policies Have International Influence. The thoughtful reader will see that our national share in eliminating war is closely related to every problem previously discussed in the chapters of this book. If we restrict civil liberties and limit the power of the people at home or behave intolerantly toward minorities, we shall be defeating the aims of democratic ideals and education. If we fail to resolve the rivalries between internal groups and to solve our economic problems, we shall be creating the unrest at home and the distrust abroad which lead to wars. Should we erect high tariff walls, seek colonies abroad, and arm excessively, we shall be repeating the age-old process which has led to many conflicts. Realization that our every domestic act and policy is, in effect, also an international policy is not without its sobering effect.

Let us now consider some of the proposals for ending war through international cooperation.

International Cooperation and Peace

The League of Nations and the World Court Students have been made familiar, through the study of history, with the League of Nations and the World Court. Upon these institutions the hope of the world for peace centered very largely from 1920 until the outbreak of the Second World War.

Under the League the governments of the world were represented in two bodies, the Assembly and the Council. The Assembly was made up of representatives from all the member nations, both large and small. Each nation had one vote on whatever questions came before this body at its annual or called meetings. At various times 62 nations held membership. The Council, which met four times each year or on special call, was made up of the large powers. Several of these had permanent seats and the others were elected by the Assembly for three-year terms. The permanent seats were held by the powers which had been victorious in the First World War, except for the United States, which refused to join. Action by either the Assembly or the Council was by unanimous vote, except on matters of procedure. No action of the Assembly was binding without the approval of the Council. It will be observed that the effect of the last two provisions was to give any one of the large powers a veto on any question of importance.

Associated with the League were a permanent Secretariat and various supplementary organizations. The Secretariat was stationed at Geneva, Switzerland, where it was maintained by a Secretary-General and a staff of several hundred persons. In addition to serving as secretary to the Council and Assembly, it registered treaties and carried on many cooperative fact-finding activities. The latter related to law, trade, minorities, disarmament, health, social problems, and international associations.

The World Court (Permanent Court of International Justice) was organized by the League of Nations, though operating independently of it. Nations might adhere to the Court without joining the League, but the United States did not do so. Fifteen distinguished jurists, including some from the United States, composed the Court. The term of service of the judges was nine years. The Court remained in session all year at The Hague. The purpose of this body was to decide questions of fact in disputes referred to it. Though it was without power to force compliance with its decisions, it was nevertheless a strong influence for peace in deciding the many problems which came before it.

Why Did the League Fail? Though most of the nations of the world belonged to it at one time, the League nevertheless failed to keep the peace. How do we account for this failure on the part of governments at a time when the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world undoubtedly desired to avoid war?

Two explanations usually are offered. The first is that the League did not represent the people but only the governments of each nation. This tended to make it an organization for diplomatic conference rather than a medium for co-operation between peoples. It also meant that whatever party was in power in one of the large nations having a veto power in the Council could prevent League action in time of crisis. Thus at the very times when vigorous action was most necessary, it was apt to be most difficult to secure.

The second explanation usually offered is that the League did not have the means to enforce its decisions, that it lacked "teeth" because it had no police force and was obliged to rely on action by the separate governments. Such action was not forthcoming when the effectiveness of the organization was challenged.

The Covenant of the League provided that member na-

tions should sever "all trade and financial relations" with a power which went to war without first resorting to arbitration or the World Court. If economic boycott failed to stop an aggressor, the Council might recommend joint military action to member nations. In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria, but only the most hesitant and ineffective action was taken by the League. Four years later Italy attacked Ethiopia and the League Council again acted halfheartedly. Japan was "condemned" by resolutions and the report of a Commission of Inquiry, but no penalties were applied. Economic embargoes were imposed on Italy, but were not extended to include cotton, oil, or copper, the articles she needed most for war purposes. Furthermore, the embargoes were removed when Italy won a few victories over the primitive Ethiopians. These two incidents effectively undermined League prestige. Later it failed to act when Germany occupied the Rhineland in defiance of treaties (1936), when Italy and Germany interfered in the Spanish civil war, and when Germany demanded Czechoslovakian territory in 1938.

Many people believe that these incidents revealed the greatest weakness of the League of Nations. They think that no nation would have dared defy the organization had the Council been supported by force or the threat of force. This might have been accomplished, they say, either by a binding agreement upon the member states to use force on an aggressor or by having an internationalized naval, military, and air organization at the disposal of the Council.

But there are many persons who think that the two explanations usually offered do not account fully for the League failure. This point of view has been presented so frequently and so ably that we should note here a few of the points argued.

The idea that the League failed because it did not have "teeth" is not a sufficient explanation, it is claimed. Through

economic and military sanctions, as well as by its opportunity to influence world opinion, the League had tremendous power. No use was made of this power because there was simply no sincere will to peace, especially on the part of the governments of the strongest nations. Lip service was given to peaceful attitudes by the Locarno treaties, the Paris Peace Pact, and in various conferences, but during all this time the major powers remained heavily armed. The old methods of "power diplomacy" were moved into the Council and the Assembly. "Deals" and alliances were made inside and outside the organization, and all were directed at *preventing* change. When crises arose the various states acted independently of the League and independently of one another. The net effect of all this was to keep the policies of Europe in the hands of the large governments, who used their veto power in the Council to prevent effective action for peace.

Also, this line of argument continues, the League failed to recognize that peaceful change is a legislative process. The League members behaved as though their duty was merely to settle disputes, not to seek solutions to problems. Therefore, no attempt was made to revise the old treaty structure of Europe; in fact, it was supplemented by more treaties outside the League. Neither was any attempt made to solve the economic problems and rivalries which are the underlying cause of Europe's frequent wars. But peace is not a static condition; change takes place always and must be recognized by international organizations, just as it is dealt with by law in the domestic affairs of nations. Differences must be settled in the early stages, not when they become quarrels which threaten war.¹⁰

¹⁰"Another primary difficulty was that the League was founded upon two entirely different concepts, one organizing the preservation of peace by military or economic force, and the other the prevention of war by settlement of controversy through pacific methods. The League undertook to carry out its mission by combining both methods. The two concepts proved

For the foregoing reasons, it is pointed out, the nations of the League failed completely to solve the problem of rival armament. A continuous effort was made to meet this problem by words, not actions. France was determined to have armed supremacy on the European continent, England on the seas, Japan in the Far East. Proposals for arms reduction made by the United States and the Soviet Union were frigidly received. Naval and disarmament conferences failed in 1927, 1930, and 1932. French insistence on an international police force was shelved. Driven by fear, the various states formed military alliances. German rearmament after 1933 was not only ignored by the League, but was aided by certain other powers which had come to fear one another and sought safety behind revived German strength.

Finally, it is said that the League failure must be attributed in part to the fact that it did not at any time include all the major powers. Germany and Russia were shut out during the early years of its existence, and Germany and Japan resigned in the 1930's. The United States refused to join and took little responsibility beyond attempts to promote disarmament.

Whatever the degree of truth or exaggeration in the arguments summarized here, it is well for us to consider them seriously, for they point to some of the most difficult problems of the years ahead.

Fundamentals of International Cooperation One thing is clear from all that has been said to this point, namely, that organized machinery alone is not sufficient to defeat war and assure permanent peace and cooperation between nations. The peoples of the world and their representatives

to be in conflict. The idea of promoting cooperation by threatening war weakened the influence of the League in persuasion to pacific methods. Nations were not willing to accept jurisdiction of the League when the end might be such penalties." Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson *The Problems of Lasting Peace*. Doubleday Doran & Co., 1942 p. 174.

in international affairs must understand and face the problems which promote friction. Ideological differences, narrow nationalism, imperialistic rivalries, and militarism must be overcome. We must find ways to bring the benefits of applied science to all the peoples of the world. Suggestions are not lacking; in fact, we are offered a confusing number.

In the next few pages let us discuss, as fully as space permits, the nature of a few of the principal international frictions. We shall then summarize the present state of organization. The thoughtful reader can consider whether he regards present policies as adequate.

Problems of Communication and Education. Throughout this book we have emphasized the idea that man is unique in creation because he lives his life so largely from the neck up. In a very real sense we live in a world of two parts—(1) things and (2) ideas about things and about each other. Our ideas about things, and the customs and institutions we have built up as a result, we call our "culture." Culture is man-made; its hold on us is through our minds. We value most elements of our culture because they are a habit with us.

What is true of us is also true of other peoples. The world is far from having cultural unity. Consider, for instance, the differences which exist between China, Russia, India, Brazil, Bulgaria, and the United States on such fundamental elements of culture as these:

1. How property should be held and used.
2. What comforts are necessary to a high standard of living.
3. What practices best express religious ideals.
4. How strong family ties should be.
5. How different races should be treated.
6. The importance of human life and personality.
7. The place of caste and class in society.
8. What traits and acts make individuals worthy of being honored by their fellows.

Only an instant's reflection is required to see that there is apt to be much disagreement among the peoples of the world at present about what is valuable, beautiful, sacred, or humorous.

If we approach cooperation with other peoples—or they approach us—with a vague idea that “these foreigners are queer,” but will be all right as soon as they begin to imitate our ways, the results are likely to be disastrous. Just as we value our ways of life, so others find their ways quite satisfactory. So the people of the United States and Western Europe are apt to have to learn to live in the world with Russian ideas of property, Brazilian ideas of race, and Oriental ideas of family life and democracy.

This does not mean that there will not be change. It means that culture changes will come slowly, over many decades. To be successful, international organization will have to accept those ideas which cannot be changed quickly, and start cooperation where there is agreement among various peoples.

Furthermore, and this is extremely important, international cooperation will be obliged to foster every agency that will help the people of the world to understand one another. We have ample resources for this task. Radio and motion pictures are already international and can as readily be used to inform people as to misinform them. Travel is apt to become so rapid and inexpensive in the near future that there can be continual movement of tens of thousands of tourists from all countries. Schools can devote increased time to the sympathetic study of the customs, beliefs, and languages of various nations. Teachers, churchmen, and others might be encouraged and aided to travel and to study abroad in international institutes. The exchange of students and teachers can be arranged between various countries.

It is interesting to think what effect a well-financed program for the interchange of ideas might have in a few



Photographs by Fred Machetanz, Los Angeles Schools, James Hutchinson, Carroll Van Ark, Attilio Gatti

NEIGHBORS IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY

decades. Consider, for example, its probable effect upon the ideological differences which we discussed at the beginning of this chapter as one underlying cause of war.¹¹

Problems of International Trade and Finance A second area where there is danger of frequent misunderstanding is economic. The world has tripled its population during the past century and a half. At the same time, technology has advanced and world trade has been speeded up. The physical means of providing the increased populations with food and other necessities have been created. But when it comes to exchanging goods in the world's markets, less progress has been made and there are many points of friction.

The continuous discussion of these problems during the Second World War emphasized three needs which must be met in a manner acceptable to all nations if future economic conflict is to be avoided. First, provision must be made for economic stability within the member nations and in international trade between the nations. Second, access to the raw materials and markets of the world must be provided for all peoples. Third, provision must be made for progressive economic development to the end that standards of living in all countries may be raised.

The first of these problems has two phases, as we stated, but they are closely related. Depressions and unemployment must be combated continually within each nation. (See Chapters 5-8.) At the same time efforts must be made along various lines to keep the channels of international trade open. There must be no return to the economic warfare between nations which preceded the armed conflict of the

¹¹There will be objections here and there to the cost of a program of international education. Yet it has been estimated that the total annual budget of the League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Office was sufficient to finance just 36 minutes of America's expense in the Second World War. (W. G. Carr in the "Foreword" to the *Annals*, September, 1944.)

Second World War.¹² Trade agreements between large groups of nations—not just between two, with others excluded—must be made. Ways must be sought to stabilize the currencies of the various countries.¹³ Capital, machinery, and technical advice must be supplied to backward nations. International cartels, which tend to restrict trade, must be controlled. (See Chapter 5.)

There have been various encouraging developments along this line. The United Nations organization makes provision for continuous discussion of economic problems. The proposed International Stabilization Fund provides for creating a central pool of \$8,800,000,000 from which countries may borrow from time to time to support their trade. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is proposed in order to guarantee the loans which private banks may wish to make to various countries to develop their industry and commerce. During the war the United Nations learned much about leveling trade barriers by cooperating under the Lend-Lease agreements. Several joint commissions were also formed between Canada and the United States and between Great Britain and the United States. International conferences were held dealing with world problems of labor,

¹²The United States took part in this "warfare" by enacting the highest tariff walls in our history, but we tried to continue selling abroad. Now goods sold abroad must be paid for either in gold or in other goods. We had most of the world's gold and we did not want to accept goods, so our tariff amounted to a way of cutting our own throats by reducing our world trade to a minimum during a time of depression. Also, it antagonized most of the world's nations. Not many people realize that the United States is a large food importer. Nor did we realize until the Second World War how dependent we are on imports of such articles as rubber, silk, hemp, tin, nickel, tungsten, and manganese.

¹³This is important because exporters want to know that they will receive the full value of their goods. If you should sell a shipment of goods to a British firm, for instance, at a time when the pound is worth four American dollars, you would not wish to be paid later in pounds that are worth three and a half dollars. The currencies of the various nations must stand in some constant relation to one another if trade is not to be interrupted.

food, agriculture, currency, and air travel and commerce

Second, access to the raw materials and markets of the world must be provided for all peoples. It is not enough, we are often reminded, to give help for a few years to the nations devastated by war. It is becoming increasingly clear that the entire world must be prosperous if any one part of it is long to remain so. As the small nations have developed their resources and industries and raised the living standards of their peoples, they have become better customers of the industrial powers. Progress in the development of nonindustrial nations cannot be made, however, if the great powers continue the "dog in the manger" tactics encouraged by imperialism. It may be that lowering trade barriers and stabilizing currency will go far toward solving the problem, provided such nations as the United States are willing to buy abroad as well as sell. Some students believe that we shall eventually be obliged to set up an international agency to see that the raw materials basic to industry are provided for all the nations that need them.

The third necessity named—progressive economic development—is closely related to those we have discussed. The point is that it will be fatal to trade, and eventually to world peace, if attempts are made to prevent change. For instance, India, China, the Balkans, the South American states, and other areas must continually be encouraged to develop their resources. The nations defeated in war must be accepted in the international trade community. Regional schemes of economic cooperation must be encouraged among small nations and colonial peoples, so that they can pool their resources and efforts. The great powers will find it to their interest in the long run to promote progressive development everywhere, just as the United States has been rewarded in trade and friendship for her helpful policies toward China, the Philippines, and Brazil.

The Problem of Dependent Peoples. Nowhere is more sympathy felt for dependent peoples than in the United States. Our own forefathers provided the world's most notable example of a colonial people who were able to gain independence and set up a stable system of self-government. Though our power has been extended into the Pacific and the Caribbean, traditional imperialism has never been a popular policy with large numbers of American citizens. We have recently declared a policy of noninterference in Caribbean affairs, and the date for Philippine independence has been set.

Nevertheless, the United States cannot now escape some degree of responsibility for aiding the future development of dependent peoples. As we have seen, the mandate system set up at the end of the First World War was violated in letter and spirit by Japan. Nor did it work too well in all cases under the administration of other powers. In the opinion of many students and statesmen, the mandate system is discredited, but the problem of dependent peoples remains. If we exclude such large areas as India, the Philippines, and the Netherlands East Indies, which call for special treatment, there still remain many peoples in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific whose problems cannot be ignored.

The problems raised by colonies and dependent peoples are not simple. In the first place, it has become traditional to meet these problems by compromising the claims of the major powers which want the areas for commercial or strategic reasons. In the second place, various peoples of Africa, the Pacific, and Southeast Asia are extremely primitive. They are illiterate; their living standards are low; their natural resources are undeveloped. Some groups do not desire independence, and there is doubt whether some of those which do desire it are capable of self-government.

The trend of developments is to regard such areas more

and more as an international responsibility. Various proposals have been made for one or more international commissions to supervise colonies. Some areas would be directly governed by such commissions, others would remain under the various nations, as at present, but their administrations would be supervised by international agencies. In every case the chief aims of administration would be (1) to develop economic resources and raise standards of living, (2) to promote educational and public health activities, and (3) to prepare the peoples for eventual self-government. The various nations and commissions would accept the idea that they are responsible to the United Nations directly and to world-wide opinion indirectly.

Out of British experience there has developed a plan which has been well received by other governments. It is proposed that the colonial peoples of the world be associated in regional associations. There might, for instance, be four regional groupings of neighbors: one in Africa and the Near East, one in the Caribbean Sea, one in Southeast Asia, and one in the South Pacific. Each of these would be supervised by a commission made up of representatives from several colonial powers. Each one would be aided by money and supplies from the mother countries. There would be an organized system of conference and cooperation between the native peoples of the colonies themselves by which they would plan their own economic and political development. An experiment of the kind is in operation in the Caribbean between the British and American possessions. It seems probable that French and Dutch colonies eventually will be included. There are those who believe that a plan of this kind might be developed for colonial peoples everywhere by the United Nations.¹⁴

¹⁴See Joseph M. Jones, "Caribbean Laboratory" *Fortune*, February, 1944 and "Half of One World," *Fortune* October, 1944.

The Problem of Armament. We stated earlier in the chapter that war is the one practice in our culture that no one claims to favor yet everyone supports. Armament, the basic essential of war, might be said to share that dubious distinction. We noted above that there was constant talk of disarmament between the two world wars. Germany's armament was reduced to the minimum after her first defeat, and the Versailles Treaty contained the assurance that this step was taken "to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of armaments of all nations." Though one conference after another was held, little was done to make this implied promise real. When Germany, seething with resentment and surrounded by armed powers, accepted the chauvinistic Hitler and began to rearm, the former Allies winked at what was taking place.

Today the echo of other promises still rings in the ears of the world's peoples. The signatories of the Atlantic Charter subscribed to the statement that ". . . all the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force."

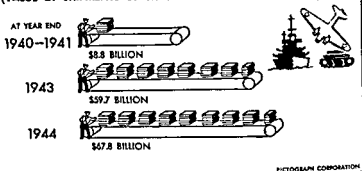
Nevertheless, the outlook for the adoption of disarmament as a policy of the leading nations is not encouraging. Extreme nationalists and imperialists are obliged to embrace armament as the foundation of their programs. But even more discouraging to those who believe that armament makes it impossible for nations to act on a basis of mutual trust is the apparent inclination of governments, including that of the United States, to pin their faith on military and naval cooperation between the major powers as a means of keeping the peace henceforth.

We are familiar with the reasons usually given for supporting this armed cooperation. It is "realistic" because future aggressors must be discouraged from planning conquests. Never again must the world be "taken by surprise."

The United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, and France are the peaceful peoples of the world. By remaining armed and cooperating closely, they can assure generations of peace. Large military and naval forces are essential to this course because these branches must carry the heaviest burden of the fighting no matter what new methods of warfare may be contrived.

OUR PRODUCTION ACHIEVEMENTS

(VALUE OF SHIPMENTS OF WAR MUNITIONS AND SUPPLIES)



THE INCREASE IN THE PRODUCTION OF ARMAMENT IN AMERICA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

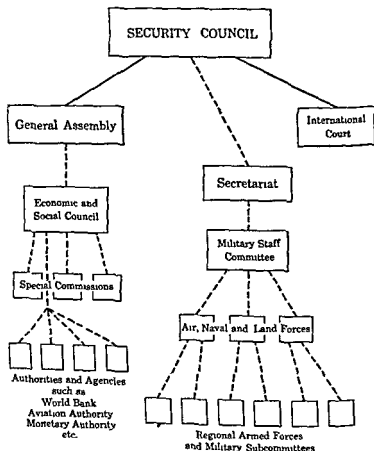
Skeptics declare this line of reasoning shortsighted, forgetful of the lessons of the past, and based on the state of mind developed by the Second World War. They believe that armament will inevitably breed suspicion and new alliances when the cooperative spirit of war has been succeeded by the economic rivalries of peace. The victorious peoples of the world will be saddled with a heavy burden of taxation from which the vanquished will be free. Future dangers of surprise attack, they insist, are apt to arise from air power. Large ground forces and navies are of use only to those who expect to use them aggressively. The road to future peace

lies only in creating a truly international police and in the voluntary progressive disarmament of nations. All other methods have failed; this one alone has never been tried!

The United Nations Organization. In October, 1944, a plan was announced for an organization to be known as the United Nations. It was to succeed the League of Nations as a basis for international cooperation. The plan was the outcome of a conference held in Washington, D. C., by representatives of the governments of the Soviet Union, China, Great Britain, and the United States. The announced aims of the Organization are principally: (1) to maintain international peace and security by preventing and removing threats of aggression; (2) to promote peaceful settlements of international disputes; (3) to achieve cooperation in dealing with economic, social, and humanitarian problems; and (4) to develop friendly relations and harmonious activity in general. Membership is open to all "peace-loving" states, and such states are declared to have "sovereign equality."

The principal organs of the Organization are to be: (1) a General Assembly, (2) a Security Council, (3) an International Court of Justice, and (4) a Secretariat. There are also various associated councils and committees charged with particular responsibilities. The accompanying chart shows the pattern of organization.

The Assembly of the Organization is to be composed of representatives of all member nations, each to have one vote. This body is to elect nonpermanent members of the Security Council (page 414), elect the members of the Economic and Social Council, admit members to the Organization, and deal with budgetary matters. It is also to have power to make "recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security." This group would meet once each year, but not always in the same place.



The Security Council is to be composed of eleven States of the Organization. The United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, and France are to have permanent membership. The other six members are to be elected by the Assembly for terms of two years. The Council is to have a permanent headquarters and act continuously. It is to be given the

"primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." In other words, it will determine, after investigation, what measures of economic boycott or action by armed force should be directed against powers considered dangerous to peace. It will apply whatever force it deems necessary through the Military Staff Committee and whatever regional military subcommittees it chooses to create. This body is also to formulate plans for the "regulation of armaments" to be referred to the member nations.

The Military Staff Committee is to be made up permanently of the chiefs of staff of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, and France.

The International Court of Justice is to succeed the earlier Permanent Court of International Justice which existed under the League. All members of the organization are to subscribe to the International Court.

The Secretariat is to be made up of a Secretary-General and staff. The Secretary-General is to be the chief administrative officer of the Organization. He is to be elected by the Assembly on recommendation of the Security Council.

The Economic and Social Council will be comprised of representatives of eighteen members of the Organization chosen by the Assembly for three-year terms. This Council will be empowered to set up various commissions of experts to study and report on problems. It is to promote conferences and to make recommendations to the Assembly. It will assist the Security Council "on request."

Provision is made for the amendment of the Charter of the Organization upon a two-thirds vote of the Assembly, ratified by the nations having permanent membership in the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the Council.

The plan was proposed in the United States during the presidential campaign of 1944. On the announced theory

that foreign policies should not be debated in a partisan manner for fear of hindering the war effort by arousing resentments among our allies, neither candidate discussed the plan critically. Senators, two-thirds of whom must approve the plan if the United States should join the Organization, had little to say for some time.

Discussion has not been lacking from other sources, however. Those who favor United States entry into the Organization state their belief that, whatever undesirable features the plan may have, this is the best arrangement we can hope to get for the present. The large powers, though united for fighting, are suspicious of the political methods and motives of one another, we are told. Vividly in all minds is the memory of the League's inability to keep peace, which most statesmen attribute to its failure to use force. This plan is designed to keep a preponderance of power in the hands of the Security Council, and thus indirectly under the control of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, at least for the immediate postwar period. It is thus a frank recognition of the impossibility of persuading a majority of the world's governments to agree to disarm. It sets up a workable scheme by which the great powers can check an aggressor without the long preliminary discussions which took place in the League.

The plan recognizes the regional nature of many world problems, we are told. It provides for regional commissions and studies. It assures peace in each region by providing for joint action against aggressors, and by making each of the great powers responsible for the leadership of its weaker neighbors. This arrangement will tend to minimize the interference of the major powers with the interests of one another and thus remove a principal incentive to use the Organization for power politics.

Furthermore, the plan makes ample provision for promot-

ing world understanding by peaceful methods, it is claimed. The Assembly and the Economic and Social Council will afford opportunity for open discussion of questions relating to trade, transportation, air routes, dependent peoples, and other problems. The various commissions and agencies associated with the Economic and Social Council will work constantly to stabilize commerce and finance and promote social and educational progress. If the original plan proves unsatisfactory in some respects, there is provision by which the Charter can be amended from time to time.

Those who have criticized the proposed plan for United Nations Organizations are not opposed to all cooperation, but are very critical of this arrangement unless it is modified. They speak of it as a "travesty on the ideas for which we have been fighting," as "dust in the eyes of the common people," or as the "three-power world."

The Organization provides, it is charged, a thinly disguised plan to keep control of the world in the hands of those major powers victorious in the Second World War. All real power is vested in the Security Council. Assembly members (the small nations) are to be permitted to talk, but they are to make no decisions on world policy. The Economic and Social Council and its associated agencies are made adjuncts of the Assembly, where they, too, can make recommendations but decide nothing. Amendment is made subject to the veto of the great powers. The heart of the plan does not lie in its machinery at all, but in military agreements to be worked out among the powers as to the armed forces they are willing to provide for the Security Council and the Military Staff to direct. When economic sanctions or force are used, small nations will be expected to assist, but they will have the minimum of influence on how or why the steps are taken.

On the contrary, there will be few effective checks on the

big powers, it is pointed out. The effect of the scheme is to divide the world into "spheres of influence," one dominated by the United States, one by Britain and France, one by Russia, and one by China. Because they can dominate the Security Council, these powers will be unrestrained in interfering in the affairs of their neighbors, except as their jealousies and rivalries lead them to check one another. Their "security" in this arrangement will be guaranteed. With the necessity for war cooperation past, their imperial rivalries will grow stronger, thus paving the way for the next war.

The proposed plan, say its critics, does not face the basic causes of war. It emphasizes nationalism, not internationalism. It elevates imperialism to the level of world policy. The problems of race and dependent peoples are subordinated. Airmament is perpetuated as the very underpinning of the scheme, and provision is made to exalt the military and naval personnel of the world to a position of power unprecedented in civilization. No premium is put on progressive change, rather, the clear intent of the plan is to freeze the *status quo*.

Bear in Mind

Whatever the elements of truth or exaggeration in the arguments relating to war and the United Nations Organization, every student who reads these lines must be increasingly aware that these problems have a very direct bearing on his own life and welfare. War extends the struggle for power and security to global dimensions. It presents almost insuperable obstacles to be overcome by those who believe that mankind's problems must be met eventually by reflection, idealism, and united effort. Yet, just as the struggle to defeat war presents grave problems, so it presents great opportunities to those young men and women who have the vision and the courage to undertake it.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. From the *World Almanac* or encyclopedias, try to find out the total number of people in the world who are governed as colonials of larger powers. What proportion of the world's population is so governed?
2. Look up the term "mercantilism" in an encyclopedia. What part did this doctrine play in American history? Was mercantilism the forerunner of imperialism?
3. Compare the present-day cost of our army, navy, and air forces with total expenditures in the United States for:

Education

Alcohol

Public health

Automobiles

Home construction

Other governmental expense

4. Should the Panama Canal be internationally controlled? the Suez Canal?
5. What are the arguments for and against the proposed Nicaraguan Canal? Should it be internationally controlled?
6. Find out what you can about the internal affairs of Argentina. Does this country appear to have fascist tendencies? Why do the Argentinians suspect the United States? What steps have been taken by our government to reach an understanding with the Argentine government?
7. Arrange in parallel columns a comparison of the League of Nations organization and the United Nations Organization. What differences between the two do you consider significant?
8. What information can you find on the state of social and political affairs in Puerto Rico? Why has there been so much interest in this possession of the United States in recent years? Is this a page of our imperialism of which we can be proud?
9. Why has oil recently played such an important part in international politics? Where are the great oil producing centers of the world? What nations control them?

- 10 The Roosevelt administration was criticized for assertedly leading us into an oil venture in the Near East during the Second World War. Why? What nations are rivals for Arabian and Iranian oil?
- 11 Select one novel dealing with war or having a war background and prepare a report on it for the class under the following headings

Plot	Principal characters	Central theme
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- 12 Appoint committees to arrange displays of pictures, cartoons, and news articles relating to

India	Mexico
The Philippines	Canada
- 13 Arrange a panel discussion on the subject *Changes Which Should Be Made in the United Nations Organization*
- 14 Find out what you can about the relations between Canada and the United States during the past century
- 15 Arrange a debate to be given before a student assembly or parent-teacher association on the subject
Resolved, That the United Nations Organization should outlaw peacetime military conscription in all the nations of the world

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Photograph from the Board of Education City of New York

ARE EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES EQUAL TO THEIR TASK?

It is in the schools that the people of the United States have rested their hope of having a population sufficiently literate and well informed to be self governing

CHAPTER 13

ARE EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES EQUAL TO THEIR TASK?

- I. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES
 - 1. Agencies of Education
 - 2. Evolution of Public Schools
 - II. THE EDUCATIONAL TASK
 - 1. Attitudes toward the School
 - 2. A List of Tasks
 - III. SOME PROBLEMS OF THE SCHOOLS
 - 1. Financial Problems
 - 2. Securing and Training Teachers
 - 3. Freedom to Learn and to Teach
 - 4. Continuing Education for Adults
-

Like most questions of great importance, the question which heads this chapter cannot be answered by a simple "yes" or "no." Most thoughtful persons would be apt to begin an answer by saying, "Yes, if . . ." For it is apparent that the success which educational agencies have now and can expect to have in the future will be influenced by many considerations. Some of these we shall point out in this discussion in order that you may think more clearly about the problem as a whole.

Consider, for instance, the other questions suggested by the mere statement of this problem. What are educational agencies? What is their task? Is it simple or complex? Why

is it considered important? Are these agencies handicapped in ways that might lead to failure? If we reflect briefly upon these questions, perhaps you will be able to formulate a more thoughtful answer to the central problem

The Educational System of the United States

Agencies of Education As we have pointed out repeatedly, every question of social policy in a democratic society is really an educational problem. Before a wise decision can be reached by the people or their representatives, feelings must be controlled and careful thought given to the issues. The public must have information and hear discussion.

This need is supplied from various sources—radio, newspapers, magazines, motion pictures, government bulletins, churches, business firms, organizations, and associations. We learn on the job, at home, at church, on the streets—in scores of ways and places. But in the United States all these agencies rest on one other, the school system. Unless the schools are able to do their job well, much of the educational value of other agencies is apt to be lost.

In this chapter we shall give some attention to various agencies of education, but principally we shall discuss the school. It is this institution upon which the people of the United States have rested their hope of having a population sufficiently literate and well-informed to be self-governing. Today there are normally over thirty million students in our schools and colleges, two out of every nine persons in the nation. We have public and private elementary schools, high schools, junior colleges, universities, and vocational schools. The basis of this structure is our system of free, tax-supported public schools, extending from kindergarten to university. We have in these an investment of several billion dollars for buildings and equipment, and on them

we spend roughly two billion dollars annually for support. Their management has become one of our biggest civic undertakings. They are the evidence of our determination to remain a people whose minds are free.

Evolution of the Public Schools. The first concern of the early settlers along the Atlantic Coast was the building of homes. Next they cleared the land for farming, and very soon they built a church and schoolhouse. As the tide of migration moved westward, schools were set up everywhere. Terms were short, books few, and teachers poorly trained, but the "little red schoolhouse" became the symbol of the people's faith in education. They believed that democratic society required literacy; that the ability to read and write was essential to popular government. Having committed themselves to self-rule, they turned to education as a guarantee that the experiment would not fail.

Faith in education as essential to democratic life has been professed by the leaders of every generation. Thomas Jefferson chose as the motto for the University of Virginia, "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." John Quincy Adams, urging the establishment of schools, said, "Among the first, perhaps the very first, instrument for the improvement of the condition of men is knowledge. . . ." Horace Mann, who led the fight a century ago for tax-supported schools, proclaimed that education was the great equalizer of opportunity. It served, he said, to give to each new generation "fitter attainments, greater capacities, and that without which all other means are worthless—minds free from prejudice, and yearning after truth."

We should not get the idea, though, that the principle of tax-supported schools was established and the present school system built without a struggle. Like every proposal for tax-supported enterprise to better the general welfare, public schools were bitterly opposed at times. It was argued that

they would make the poor idle and lazy, perhaps even give them mischievous notions of social equality. "Why," it was asked, "should men be taxed for the education of other people's children?" Such ideas were declared the entering wedge for socialism, a penalty on the industrious and frugal, and a means of driving the states into bankruptcy.

The forces urging free public education were well led, however, by such persons as James Carter, Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Calvin Stowe, Caleb Mills, and John Swett. Extension of the suffrage gave the working classes more power and they demanded free schools as a means of providing opportunity for their children. Humanitarians and religious leaders came to their support. Many of the wealthy pointed out to their more obstinate brethren that educating the masses would make them law-abiding, respectful of property, and less inclined to migrate aimlessly from job to job. Before the Civil War the principle of free tax-supported schools was established in the North and West, and the South adopted it during the period of Reconstruction.

It is a far cry from the public schools of three generations ago to those of today. Like other institutions, the schools have grown and changed rapidly in three-quarters of a century. The nature of these changes can be most quickly grasped if we point out certain trends which are apparent.

The first and most obvious trend has been toward enlarged enrollment. Whereas, as late as 1880 most high-school students attended private academies, by 1900 over 500,000 were enrolled in public high schools. By the middle 1930's the number of public high school students had passed 6 million, and was increasing, while the enrollments of public elementary schools were well over 20 million. Various reasons for this growth are apparent, among them (1) the increase of population, (2) compulsory school laws in the several states, and (3) increase in the proportion of girls attending

school. Underlying all of them is the apparent acceptance by an overwhelming majority of the population of the idea that attending school is the most vitally important thing young people can do.

Paralleling the increase in school attendance, the number of days of schooling has been greatly extended. In 1800 about 80 days constituted the average length of schooling in the lifetime of American youth. By 1840 the average had risen to 208 days, by 1870 to 582, and by 1930 to more than 1400.

A third change is the gradual but definite trend toward centralized control of education. Traditionally, American education is a local undertaking, paid for largely by district taxes and managed by an elected local school board. But as the schools have grown in size and extended their services, the various state governments and to some extent the federal government have been called upon for aid. The states have established uniform standards and provided some measure of state-wide supervision. The federal government has provided special funds for vocational training, setting up uniform standards which must be met by schools receiving the benefit. The tendency of these changes has been to make school practice more uniform over large areas, to extend greatly state authority over local districts, and to give the federal government some authority over this phase of local affairs.

Finally, the most conspicuous change is the expansion in the services which the schools undertake to give, the enlarged responsibilities which they carry. The three R's of the frontier school would be pitifully inadequate today. As society has grown more complex, the schools have made innovations to meet new demands. The fields systematically taught have been increased in number and enriched in content. More and more attention has been paid to health and

physical development. Prevocational and vocational courses have been initiated. Responsibility is taken for helping young people to plan their lives and work, and for aiding them in developing well-balanced personalities. To a very considerable extent, the schools have taken over many of the services for youth which were once performed by family, church, and community.

The Educational Task

The earlier chapters of this book have revealed how tremendous and difficult are the problems faced by education. We have noted especially the difficulties here in the United States. Democracy is a system of ideals as to a way of life. This way of life we are striving to improve through our institutions, especially our political institutions. But the complexities we face are so many and so difficult that the task merely of giving people some understanding of them becomes a very special problem in itself. We are puzzled, also, as to how to keep alive the ideals which lead people to strive. On every hand we see disagreement, conflict, prejudice. As answers to the problems of business, politics, farming, race relations, and war, many persons seem to have little to offer but intolerance and bigotry. We are more fully informed than ever before, but we are obliged to remain constantly alert to be sure that we are better informed and to avoid being deliberately misinformed.

Also, amid this complexity, many persons have difficult problems of finding and holding jobs and of adjusting their personal lives to the people and groups about them.

Attitudes toward the School. Our principal institution for coping with these difficulties is the school. Other agencies of educative nature are important, but the school has long been our chief reliance. How active schools should be in trying to determine the nature of our future society is itself



Photographs from Board of Education, City of New York, and Los Angeles City Schools

VOCATIONAL COURSES IN HIGH SCHOOL

The three R's of the frontier school would be pitifully inadequate today. As society has grown more complex, the schools have made innovations to meet new demands.

a matter of controversy. Though there are many shades of opinion on the question, the prevailing ideas fall roughly into two groups. One group says no, the school cannot and should not attempt to build future society. The school, they say, is merely an instrument of the State. Its job is to help youth understand our present economic and political arrangements. Schools should teach pupils reading, writing, literature, history, science, mathematics, civics—all with a view to enabling them to find jobs, get along in the world, and form their own opinions. Emphasis should be put on our traditions and the progress we have made up to this point. Such teaching will provide ample inspiration for the future. For poorly informed teachers and immature, uninformed pupils to discuss controversial problems will merely arouse discontent without aiding solutions, it is claimed.

The second group takes direct issue with the foregoing argument. The young people in the schools today must run this country tomorrow, they say. Theirs will not be the problems of 1776, 1860, or 1900. Schools should not only make pupils literate and informed about the past, they should give them a vision of a better future. Problems should be the very heart of pupils' study. They should be taught how to find information, examine it critically, and reason on the basis of their findings. Furthermore, they should be taught to appreciate democracy by being encouraged to organize and manage their own groups. They should be given guidance and encouragement in planning how they can lead useful and well-adjusted lives. Democracy as a way of life requires above all things self-discipline and cooperation, it is argued. These virtues the school must cultivate by helping pupils to build well-balanced personalities and by informing them fully as to the problems they must meet.

Unfortunately, the majority of Americans do not take much interest in this controversy. They seem to think that

the mere existence of the schools is itself assurance of future democracy. Few of these citizens have stopped to reflect on the difference between educating students and merely helping them to become literate.

A List of Tasks. By reflecting upon the meaning of democracy and recalling the various problems presented in this book and others, each reader could draw up for himself a thoughtful list of the educational tasks which face us today. The value of such a list is that it helps us to organize ideas and stimulates discussion, not that it is final. Bearing this in mind, let us enumerate ten aims which can be realized only through education in the broad sense. Homes, churches, special interest groups, newspapers, radio, and all other agencies educative in nature will have a part in these tasks, but it is probable that the greatest responsibility will fall upon the school.

The first and basic aim of education in our society is to teach the meaning of democracy. Its responsibilities as well as the "rights" it assures must be understood. Democracy must be looked upon as working together for common goals.

A second aim is to teach people how to learn. As we have seen, many persons want to understand problems, but some are handicapped by prejudice or superstition, while others are misinformed. They do not always know how to gather facts or how to separate facts from special pleading. Says one writer, ". . . a central responsibility of popular education is to insure a widespread mastery of the apparently simple arts of reading, listening, and looking. . . ." The very survival of free government may depend on the accomplishment of this aim.

A third aim of great importance is to give a clear and truthful understanding of the structure and problems of industrial society. For a people who put as much emphasis as we do on high standards of living and economic well-being, there is

¹G. S. Counts, *The Prospects of American Democracy*. John Day Co., 1938, p. 324.

astonishing ignorance among us about how our economic system works. Such ignorance is a principal reason, of course, why much of the talk relating to monopoly, taxes, unemployment, and war is simply uninformed prejudice.

A fourth aim would thus be made easier, namely, to teach political "realism." That is, citizens of a democracy should be taught how parties and governmental machinery actually work. They should know, for instance, why parties are coalitions of many groups and why so much of our machinery of government is extra-constitutional. If this teaching were done, it would be much harder to find the voter who regards his party as a "sacred cow," and there would be much more frankness in political discussion.

As a fifth aim, education must teach the value and the methods of critical discussion. The ideal situation in a democracy would be for any two or more "average" citizens to be able to discuss or debate public issues patiently and critically without heat. The object of each party to a discussion should be to learn from his fellows and to try to persuade them, not to beat them down by a display of indignation or to distort their views by appeals to prejudice.

A sixth aim requires that in a democracy much attention be given to methods and practice in cooperation within and between groups. Practice in the give and take of cooperation teaches tolerance far more effectively than talk. Ours is a group world and we must learn to live in it.

The seventh aim, and closely related to the sixth, is that education must give knowledge and understanding of other peoples, as we saw in Chapters 4 and 12. We seldom dislike the people that we really understand. When we understand other races and nations and sympathize with their problems, we shall have taken a long stride toward settling our differences by the methods of peaceful change.

The eighth aim is that education must adjust us to the world as persons. We should be morally responsible and self-disciplined. Psychologists tell us that our personalities are molded by group membership and experience. But today there are

so many groups and most of them are so impersonal that we sometimes feel that we do not "belong" to any. It is easy for people to be lonely and bewildered in our complex society. Not only does this make them less effective as citizens, but it sometimes leads to serious nervous and mental sickness.

As a ninth aim, we must be adjusted to the world as "consumers." One phase of this problem is to be intelligent economic consumers, to know how to buy wisely and to get the most from our incomes. But we also consume (in the sense of using) such things as recreational facilities, music, paintings, motion pictures, radio, and books. Our lives would be greatly enriched if we could all learn discrimination in making our choices.

The tenth aim requires that education adjust us to the world as workers. This is a vital part of the education of any person, whether he learns the lessons in school or on the job. It is not only important to choose our vocations as thoughtfully as possible and make careful preparation. Today's world requires, also, good work habits, alertness, versatility, and adaptability, for many jobs require the use of machines and there is much shifting about from one position to another.

Some Problems of the Schools

Assuming that a large part of the attempt to do the tasks suggested by these aims falls on the schools, how well adapted are they to the job? In what ways are they handicapped and what problems must be met to make them most effective?

Financial Problems. One limiting factor is the insistence of influential individuals and groups that schools make use of the aims and methods of yesterday. They complain about the "frills" in education when schools introduce programs of guidance or health, or when they request shops, libraries, and gymnasiums. Many persons who sincerely believe in the value of public education thoughtlessly permit themselves to be drawn into groups who complain about the most modest

school costs, without stopping to think how very low these are in proportion to the size of the job and the probable benefits²

Problems of school financial support are broader in scope, however, than the complaints of a minority of taxpayers. More fundamental are the related problems of how to distribute the costs of schools justly among taxpayers and how to guarantee adequate school facilities to all young people.

The tax bills for American schools have long been assessed against the property of local districts. The chief reliance for school money is on the general property tax. Two difficulties have developed in this connection. First, the general property tax is becoming less and less satisfactory as a source of revenue. Much wealth is now in corporate securities, which can often be concealed from the tax assessor. Or the stock of a company operating in one state may be owned in another. Second, property values vary so greatly from one school district to another that there are many inequalities in school support. Of two districts side by side, one may have three or four times the property valuation of the other. If they levy the same rate of taxation, there will be a very great difference between the schools they can afford. In recent years this inequality has led state governments to assume an important part of public-school costs. State funds are distributed in various forms of aid, especially to the poorer districts, in an effort to provide more nearly equal school facilities. In a recent year almost 30 percent of public-school support was being provided by state funds.

There are also great differences in taxable wealth between

²It has been estimated that crime and law enforcement cost us 5 to 6 billion dollars per year. In a recent year American expenditure for alcohol, including beer and wine, was over 6 billion dollars or \$46 for every person in the population. We noted in Chapter 12 that there are those who insist that we should spend annually over 20 billion dollars on past and future wars. Beside these sums, school expenditures seem very modest.

states. New York, California, Pennsylvania, and other industrial states are far more able to support public schools adequately than less populous and wealthy states such as Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Mississippi. Furthermore, there is some tendency for state sources of revenue to contract as the federal government becomes more powerful and reaches out for larger and larger sums and new sources of taxation in support of its activities. Observation of these facts has led to recommendations that federal funds be provided in large amounts to the states for school support. A few years ago an Advisory Committee on Education appointed by the President recommended that Congress should grant increasing sums of money to the states from year to year until the total reached 200 million dollars annually. No action was taken on this proposal.

Securing and Training Teachers. A no less serious and persistent problem than financial support is the difficulty schools have in securing and retaining an adequate group of trained teachers. The two are not unrelated, for one cause of the shortage of competent teachers lies in the parsimonious financial support given schools in various states. The nation has had for some years about a million teachers, of whom 900,000 were in public schools and colleges. A study made shortly before the Second World War revealed their average salaries as between \$1200 and \$1300 per year. But this average included secondary teachers and those employed in large cities, groups whose pay is relatively high. White rural elementary teachers received quite recently an average annual salary slightly above \$700, while Negro rural teachers averaged less than half this amount. When we reflect that teacher tenure is often short and that those who remain in the work and secure advancement must spend large sums for schooling, we do not find it surprising that there are frequent acute shortages.

Periods of war or unusual prosperity attract many teachers away from classrooms. Teacher shortages and rising costs of living led to modest average salary increases during both world wars.

Low salaries and the persistence of the idea that any literate person can teach have also combined to keep requirements low in most states. Very often teaching has been used as a steppingstone to other work by young people who were unwilling to undergo the long period of training necessary to equip them with the knowledge, skill, and versatility which today's teachers should have. High-school training is still sufficient to admit teachers to elementary schools in some states, though the trend is toward requiring two or more years of college work for elementary teaching and four or more for high-school positions.

Various ways have been suggested for improving this condition. The most usual is that requirements for teaching be increased in all states to a minimum of four years' college training, with salaries raised accordingly and pension systems provided for those who remain in the work until old age. These standards have been established in many cities and a few states. As the financial problems involved are overcome, such standards are apt to become general. It is to be hoped, also, that larger numbers of successful teachers will be guaranteed tenure for life or during good behavior as professional standards rise.

It has often been proposed that more care be exercised in the selection of teacher trainees as requirements are raised. Either those permitted to take training could be carefully selected or those whose training records are poor could be refused a license.

It seems probable that persons who believe that schools must carry grave responsibilities will favor such changes as those named. Persons who think it sufficient to have a lit-

erate population will be inclined to favor present arrangements.

Freedom to Learn and to Teach. A third handicap often complained about by teachers, especially those in high schools and colleges, arises from the efforts of individuals and groups to restrict or to influence teaching. Such attempts may be classified roughly as of two kinds: (1) attempts to prescribe or to proscribe the teaching of various ideas or books, and (2) efforts of special-interest groups to propagandize by placing materials in courses of study.

The first of these may take any one of several forms, such as:

- a. Requirements that particular kinds of content be taught in certain grades or subjects. This is illustrated by compulsory teaching of state and federal constitutions, legally required Bible reading, and compulsory military drill.
- b. Requirements that some content be omitted from instruction. For instance, various states and cities prohibited the teaching of biological evolution two decades ago and others forbade teachers to explain or even to mention Communism.
- c. Loyalty oaths and other forms of pressure on teachers. These usually arise from the fear that some teachers will hold unconventional views on politics, religion, or economics.
- d. Banning textbooks which contain or omit specified kinds of content, for instance criticism of wars or statesmen and complimentary references to popular heroes.

Those who support such attempts to control or influence teaching argue that it is the chief function of the school to preserve the traditions and customs of the past, hence legal requirements and other forms of compulsion are justified. Pupils are too immature to understand and evaluate critical or novel ideas, it is often claimed, and discussion of them is apt to create discontent and disorder in society. It is said, also, that too great freedom of discussion in schools

encourages some teachers to express extreme views and to seek notoriety by sensationalism

Opponents of such restrictions argue that they do not often arise from majority views, but from the agitation of extremist minorities. Compulsions and prohibitions do not accomplish their intended purpose, it is claimed, for they lead to formal and lifeless teaching or to evasions. They deter many capable people from the profession and reward mediocrity of talent. Furthermore, the interpretation of such requirements may be so narrow that students are prevented from receiving honest instruction, while teachers are left defenseless from persecution by those who dislike or disagree with them.

Instances of the second type of influence—efforts of special-interest groups to propagandize—are less sensational but quite frequent in occurrence. Patriotic societies and veterans' associations provide books, pamphlets, and articles "interpreting" history. Certain business groups have at various times sought to influence textbook content, supplied books to school libraries, and distributed debate materials favorable to their own interests. Labor, racial, and religious groups have attempted to secure favorable teaching of their history and ideals.² Such activities often may be useful to schools if conducted openly, less defensible if carried on by surreptitious methods or by threats of force.

We should bear in mind that the object of freedom of teaching is to promote freedom of learning. If we are to meet the many problems of our time, the voters of tomorrow must have a large measure of freedom to investigate problems and discuss their findings. Teachers have a moral obligation not to take advantage of the confidence imposed in them by the public, but they are doubtless right in claiming

²H. K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936.

that they cannot do their job well if they are held too rigidly responsible to those who do not understand the spirit and method of scientific inquiry.

Continuing Education for Adults. Though youth must be served, adults also feel needs for continuing education. They are frequently called upon to make decisions on matters concerning which they are not fully informed. These relate not only to civic affairs but often to their jobs, children, or business. As we have noted, there are many sources of information for adults—libraries, lectures, radio, newspapers, movies, magazines, books, government agencies, and special interest groups. But these are not organized into a unified program, nor are they always unbiased and solely concerned with giving accurate information.

Realization of this fact has led in recent years to a considerable development of adult education by schools. Extension courses, conducted by colleges and universities, have increased in number and variety. Evening high schools and trade schools have enlarged their offerings. In some centers forum discussion groups have been organized to consider problems of political, economic, and general social interest. Unfortunately, the Second World War disorganized this program for the reason that wartime efforts were devoted to promoting unity, not debate, and because the war effort required disproportionate attention to training adults for immediate jobs.

Thoughtful citizens are fully aware, however, that the continuation and development of adult education is an imperative necessity. Public schools and colleges are the agencies best equipped to plan and administer a program. Students of the problem have suggested various tasks which programs of adult education might undertake. Among other undertakings, they might:

- 1 Retrain individuals for vocations to aid them in avoiding the most extreme hardships arising from industrial shifts and unemployment
- 2 Provide vocational training to improve the skill of those who have jobs but who wish to seek advancement or learn new kinds of work
- 3 Rehabilitate large numbers of the physically handicapped that they may feel some measure of independence
- 4 Assist interested persons to understand the scientific background of our world of conveniences
- 5 Teach child care and home building to parents who feel the need of help
- 6 Teach avocations and leisure-time activities to enrich individual lives
- 7 Provide scientific counseling to those who are bewildered by change or whose personalities have been disorganized by their experiences
- 8 Carry on constant instruction and discussion relating to the great ethical and civic problems which plague modern society

Those who oppose adult education do so on the grounds that it is expensive, that it serves only a limited group in the population, and that it encourages discontent and social unrest. It is defended by its champions on the ground that a well-organized and thoughtfully directed program, nationwide in scope, will aid industry, promote civic competence, and help many persons to lead purposeful and useful lives. Democracy, it is pointed out, rests on an informed citizenry, and it is impossible to inform citizens adequately for changing modern needs if we persist in terminating systematic instruction with youth.

In conclusion, we should remind ourselves that education must change, must adapt itself to needs and problems, just as other institutions must adjust. If schools and colleges are

to be useful tools, we must determine how we can best make use of them to build the society pictured in our ideals. Several years ago the Educational Policies Commission stated:

The free and universal public school system created in the United States during the nineteenth century has been called America's greatest contribution to civilization. The vision and courage of the people in creating this democratic institution constitute a landmark in mankind's upward climb.

Fundamental changes have taken place in American life since the foundations of our educational system were laid. We are in a period in which skill, technical and professional knowledge, social insight, and consistent and intelligent group action are essential. In developing all of these, schools and colleges make a vital contribution. Public vision and insight will determine the value of this contribution in the future.

Our forefathers in the nineteenth century had the insight and courage to transcend previous conceptions and practices as to what schools and colleges should do for a nation. They fashioned a system of universal, popular education which had no precedents in other nations. It accorded with their ideals and met the needs of their times. We of the twentieth century, confronted with vastly changed conditions and baffling new problems, should do no less.

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Democracy is a form of government through which people educate themselves to conduct their personal and common affairs, with a maximum of intelligence. The amount and kind of understanding requisite in a society such as ours can be provided only if we consciously, vigorously, and wisely use education to create it.⁴

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. Make a list of the radio programs of educational nature announced in a period of a week. What agencies are sponsoring them?

⁴Educational Policies Commission. *Education and Economic Well-Being in American Democracy*. National Educational Association, 1940.

- 2 Estimate the space given to educational news in a local newspaper in one week. Compare this with the space devoted to crime and delinquency.
- 3 Does your state university distribute educational films to schools? Upon what terms? Find out what use your school has made of them.
- 4 What factors might operate to limit equality of educational opportunity in the United States? Do they operate?
- 5 Has the development of public education been retarded by the idea that people go to school simply to be able to secure and hold a better job?
- 6 Why are school expenditures often the first ones attacked by dissatisfied groups of taxpayers?
- 7 As you look back over your school experience, what training have you missed that you would like to have? How can you get it?
- 8 Frame a debate question relating to loyalty oaths for teachers. Ask two members of the class to debate the question before the group.
- 9 What would be your opinion of a plan for state colleges and universities to select all candidates for teaching by rigid written and oral examinations and give scholarships to all those chosen?
- 10 If asked to improve this book as a text, what inclusions or omissions would you make?
- 11 If asked to criticize the course you are completing, what would you list as its strong and weak points?
- 12 Do you believe that every school system should conduct periodical forum meetings for adults at which current national problems are discussed?
- 13 List some of the "myths" current in regard to education. Example: the idea that all children dislike school.
- 14 Read in class the parts of other chapters in this book relating to educational problems and agencies (Chapters 1-4, 12).
- 15 Expand the ideas given in Chapter 12 as to the possibility of educating for international peace.

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Courtesy of Boy Scouts of America

ARE THERE GIANTS IN THE LAND?

The students of today will tomorrow be the leaders in democratic ideals here and very probably in the world.

CHAPTER 14

ARE THERE GIANTS IN THE LAND? LEADERSHIP

I. THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP

1. Threats to Democracy
2. Difficulties in Developing Leadership
3. Considerations Favoring Leadership Development

II. THE NATURE OF LEADERSHIP

1. What Makes a Leader?
2. Personal Traits of Leaders
3. Autocratic and Democratic Leadership
4. Leaders and Followers

III. DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

1. Restraints on Leaders
 2. Special-Interest Groups and Leadership
 3. The Demagogue
 4. Are There Giants in the Land?
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It is fitting that the concluding chapter of this book should be written as a very direct and personal challenge to its readers. You who have read these chapters as textbook or reference have been in school for eleven or twelve years, perhaps longer. You have studied the subjects adapted to students of average or above-average abilities. Many of you will continue in college for several years, and those who do not complete college are nevertheless apt to retain a lively and increasing interest in public affairs as you grow older.

By the very nature of these circumstances, you are a selected group. You are marked for some degree of leader-

ship and cannot escape the responsibilities thus thrust upon you. In school, church, business, and community affairs others will defer to your opinions. You will be expected to be informed and to make thoughtful and critical judgments.

The opportunities for leadership which are yours have never been exceeded in any generation. The responsibilities which you must assume are probably the greatest ever undertaken by any generation in the history of the United States. We can safely say, without exaggeration or sensationalism, that the decisions we make and the leaders we choose in your generation will determine whether democratic society and government will survive or perish in these United States. And the fate of democratic ideals in America may be the determining element in their fate throughout the world.

The need for idealistic leaders of ability and energy has never been more urgent, nor have the difficulties in developing such leadership ever been greater.

The Need for Leadership

Threats to Democracy The discussions in this book, though they have dealt with only a few of the basic problems of democracy, make it abundantly clear why the need for wise leadership is so urgent. We have noted that each problem mentioned is related to all the others discussed, thus illustrating their complexity and difficulty. Not one of these problems can be attacked intelligently on the basis of slogans, catchwords, and rationalized prejudices. They demand long and careful study by many leaders. The leaders, in turn, must be able and willing to inform, not misinform, the public. The whole process must be carried on as a search for those policies which will promote "the greatest good of the greatest number"—freedom and security for all.

Our only hope for self-government is to have an over-

whelming majority of citizens who are able to make thoughtful choices among policies and proposed courses of action. We can have such citizens only if we have patient, informed, and idealistic leaders—persons who do not condemn our ignorance and confusion but make efforts to teach us. Such leaders must be willing to accept the idea that the only certainty in society is change and that democracy is, therefore, a continuous process of education.

Self-government is cooperative. Leaders in various fields—business, agriculture, labor, churches, professions, schools—must feel a sense of responsibility for the general welfare as well as for their own special groups. We must be able to have confidence in the honesty and integrity of our leadership—to trust one another. Those who lead in one field must be prepared to be followers in other fields in which they are not as well informed.

Unless we can act upon these trite truths—not merely give them lip service—we shall not be self-governing. Instead we shall be misgoverned by the self-seeking. We shall be preyed upon by demagogues who appeal to the basest human passions, concealing their true motives by the skillful use of prejudice and shibboleth. The gains we have made in many generations will be threatened, as well as the ideals we cherish for a better life for all men in the future.

Let us discuss first some of the problems faced in developing such leadership, then note various reasons why we need not be discouraged in the attempt.

Difficulties in Developing Leadership. To state the need for capable and sincere leadership is one thing, to develop and encourage it is quite another under present-day conditions. There are many reasons why this is true, some of which we can infer from the foregoing chapters.

One reason is the persistence of hero worship in popular thinking. Hero worship keeps us looking back continually

for our models Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Webster, Calhoun, Lincoln, Grant, Wilson—these take on the stature of giants in the perspective of time as we forget their faults and remember only that they met crises with courage. We may be inclined to discount the abilities of present-day aspirants for leadership unless they display the same talents and hold opinions similar to those which we attribute to our heroes. This is to overlook the obvious fact that the talents which made these men great in their time might be of less use to our contemporaries. A statesman of today, for instance, probably has more need to be an economist than to be an orator, soldier, or constitutional lawyer.

Closely related to hero worship is the tendency to suspect intellectual persons. Noting this, some enemies of democracy have declared that it can never succeed because the masses of men so frequently prefer leaders of mediocre attainments. It is probable that this point is of declining importance in American democracy. We rely heavily on our educational system and increasingly incline toward educated leadership. A few years ago Professor Munro¹ pointed out that while college graduates constituted only 1 percent of the national population, they held 50 percent of the elective positions in the national government and about 20 percent of such state and municipal offices. We noted in Chapter 10 the increasing use of the specialist and the expert in public affairs. Such trends seem to indicate that the partisan indictments of "brain trusts" in newspapers and the unfavorable stereotypes of intellectual persons presented by cartoons and movies do not have much influence on public opinion.

A very obvious reason for the difficulties encountered by many capable leaders is to be found in the complex and impersonal nature of our society. We are separated by group divisions and special interests. Leaders are too often praised

¹W. B. Munro *Personality in Politics* Macmillan 1934 p. 112

and rewarded for their services to the few and penalized if they attempt to serve the many. Thus congressmen may represent their districts or states with little regard for the national welfare. Business leaders or labor leaders may put the welfare of their own groups above the general good.

The impersonal nature of our society leads also to a good deal of individual indifference, selfishness, and preoccupation with personal affairs. We are inclined to rely on paid leaders in many positions—such as schools, churches, and local offices—and to “leave everything to them.” Thus we become aware of the strong and weak points of our leadership only in time of crisis when feeling runs so high that thoughtful judgment is difficult if not impossible.

Other outcomes of the complexity of our society are (1) a tendency to rely too heavily on the law, (2) the supposition that the mere fact of holding a position endows a leader with wisdom, and (3) considerable confusion about common honesty. The influence of these ideas is hard to assess, but observation indicates that they are often important.

We may assume that the passage of a law settles a problem, forgetting that the task of making the law effective has just begun. The tendency to attribute special wisdom to certain kinds of leaders is noted most often in reference to professional men—doctors, lawyers, professors, clergymen—though we frequently give more credit to business executives and political officeholders than they earn by the quality of their leadership and public service.

Probably most far-reaching in its effects, though, is our confusion about ethics. The merchant detected giving short weight would become the object of public contempt, yet we endure manufacturers who refuse to grade and label their products honestly and patent-medicine vendors who thrive on ignorance and suffering. We joke about the observation that a great deal of commercial advertising exaggerates facts

and makes irrelevant appeals to our fears and vanities. A physician caught misrepresenting his qualifications would have few patients, but we elect Presidents, governors, and congressmen on the basis of platforms that are the most outright evasions and misrepresentations. The same persons who condemn a neighbor for neglecting to vote will often go to amazing lengths to avoid paying taxes. The man who insists on the full measure of civil liberty for himself may be quite willing to silence or even imprison those who differ from him in race or opinion.

Such instances can be multiplied indefinitely by any reader. The important point in this connection is that confusion about common honesty makes difficult the way to leadership for persons of exceptional ability and forthright integrity.

Finally, we should note as a difficulty in developing leadership some of the shortcomings of our educational agencies. Too often professional and business schools train skillful practitioners, but give them no incentive for service beyond personal gain. High schools, where the meanings of democracy should be made vital, are sometimes conducted as though they were petty principalities. Colleges and universities seem unable to develop in many of their students either understanding of public affairs or serious interest in them. Religious congregations, which should keep us constantly aware of the worth and practical importance of our ideals, are so often evasive and platitudinous that they reach few potential leaders.

Considerations Favoring Leadership Development. Such difficulties as those named should be regarded as challenges to our best effort, however, not as advance indications of defeat. Every reader will think of several reasons why we shall probably develop the leadership to meet our problems.

Some of these reasons will occur to you as we proceed, but let us note a few at this point.

First, we can be encouraged by the fact that rapidly increasing numbers of people are aware of such problems as those we have brought up in this book. Awareness of problems leads to reflection and discussion. Books and magazines present the problems; newspapers and newsreels reflect them. Large numbers of people over the nation become like-minded as they become better informed. They are eager to rally behind leadership which reflects their beliefs in a constructive manner. Also, they become "propaganda wise" and increasingly impatient of insincerity in those who bid for public trust.

Second, the American people, as well as large numbers of people all over the world, are remarkably united in supporting the ideals of democracy. We agree to a much greater extent on what we want to accomplish than on how to do it. As long as such agreement about the kind of society we want persists, it is not essential that we all agree on one program. Doubtless we shall have to try various programs and many experiments. It probably will be more significant in the long run that leaders in various fields agree on goals than that they disagree on details.

As an indirect outgrowth of the two points just mentioned, the amount of social cooperation is increasing, though progress seems distressingly slow at times. Educational and welfare agencies are organized on a national basis, even an international basis in some instances. Organized labor and industrial management learned many lessons of cooperation during the Second World War. Farm groups, church groups, and others which once opposed each other bitterly, are learning to work together on some matters. There is overwhelming sentiment in favor of cooperating with other nations to

keep the peace. All such developments are favorable to the development of leaders of greater ability and integrity than heretofore.

Finally, there is probably hope in the fact that millions of weary people are eager for constructive change after thirty years of almost continuous war and economic depression.

The Nature of Leadership

What Makes a Leader? Writing of leadership many years ago, Charles Horton Cooley said that "the function of the great and famous man is to be a symbol, and the real question in other minds is not so much, What are you? as, What can I believe that you are? What can you help me to feel and be?" Elsewhere Cooley wrote of the leader, "He must stand for something to which men incline, and so take his place by right as a focus of their thought."² How often we have heard people state that they do not understand all the policies of a leader, but that they favor him because he "wants to do the right thing!"

This bears out the idea that leaders are products of their culture and their time. They are students of the men and the problems that surround them. The particular traits and temperament of leaders fit them to become powerful under given circumstances. For instance, Rockefeller, Morgan, Carnegie, and other industrial tycoons of fifty years ago might have remained obscure in a society which did not value or provide opportunity for business success. Lincoln's personality became the rallying center for those who favored union and abolition. Wilson expressed the yearnings of oppressed peoples everywhere for peace and security as the First World War drew to a close.

²C. H. Cooley *Human Nature and the Social Order* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902, pp. 293, 307.

Times of crisis often are favorable to the discovery of leadership. Old ways of acting and believing are disorganized and men become frightened. They sense that unless they can find bases for agreement and cooperation disaster will follow.

At such times leaders are at once "cause" and "effect" of the events which follow. They are a cause in the sense that they "define the situation" and suggest courses of action. Few persons would deny the permanent influence of President Franklin Roosevelt on our society because of the way he defined the economic situation and took action when he came to office in 1933. Wendell Willkie exercised a wide influence on American opinion by the way he analyzed the problems which faced the nation in foreign affairs and race relations in the months preceding his death. Thus any leader, whether of a small group or a large one, becomes a cause of future events, especially if he has a vigorous policy.³ But the leader is also an effect in that he is molded and limited by the society around him. For instance, we cannot imagine any leader attempting to convert the United States to Buddhism, much less succeeding in such an attempt. Yet our tradition of tolerance is such that we might easily be convinced that the ethics of Buddhism do not differ greatly from our own religious ideas. In fact, there is much discussion today of the elements common to all religions that might serve to unite us in joint effort with all humanity.

It is such reflection that makes us aware that the present-day difficulties of idealistic leadership are so important. If we permit our American culture to become shallow, impersonal, selfish, and venal, what kind of leadership shall we develop and reward? Is it not possible in this time of crisis

³Of course, as has often been pointed out, doing nothing is itself a way of taking a stand, a form of policy, so the "do-nothing" type of leader might conceivably have much influence on future events.

to rally large numbers of people around courageous men and women who can unite us for the achievements of peace and human welfare?

Personal Traits of Leaders Much has been written about the personal traits which have brought prestige, influence, and fame to various leaders of the past. These include such characteristics as

Sympathy	Wide and accurate knowledge
Optimism	Dramatic skill
Self-confidence	Versatility
Quick perception	Courage
Foresight	Self-control

The leader must have some combination of these traits which will attract and hold a following. "The arousing of faith," wrote Le Bon, "—whether religious, political, or social, whether faith in a work, in a person, or an idea—has always been the function of the great leaders of crowds, and it is on this account that their influence is always very great. Of all the forces at the disposal of humanity, faith has always been one of the most tremendous. To endow a man with faith is to multiply his strength ten-fold. The great events of history have been brought about by obscure believers, who have had little beyond their faith in their favor."⁴

Autocratic and Democratic Leadership Conceivably a leader might possess most of the traits listed above and yet not fit into a democratic society. The autocratic leader is apt to be lacking in sympathy. He rules by stealth, fear, and force. Consider the secret police, concentration camps, and "liquidations" of recent European despots. There have been industrial managers in the United States who resorted to labor spies and arbitrary firing and hiring to keep their employees in fear and submission.

⁴G. Le Bon, *The Crowd*. Quoted in H. Young, *Source Book for Social Psychology*. Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, p. 567.



Photographs from European and Los Angeles City Schools

LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

Our schools train youth to speak and think for themselves; the Nazi system took top-ranking students and trained them for the Gestapo.

The democratic leader will reflect his beliefs in his methods. His aim is always to serve as widely as possible. He reaches decisions by consulting others and knows how to share responsibility with his associates. The welfare of his employees and comrades he puts above his own. He tries constantly to stimulate other persons to achievement and to train subordinates to carry on the work and ideals of his organization. Says Professor Bogardus, "Democratic leadership means stimulating the urge to personal freedom and the building of a cooperative society."⁵

Society that is truly democratic has an especially important place for the mental leader as well as for the leader who organizes and directs group activity. Democracy recognizes the unavoidability and the desirability of social change. If such change is to be wisely directed toward the general welfare, there is a place for the thinker. Philosophers, scientists, inventors, writers, theologians, educators, artists are valued and encouraged.

Leaders and Followers Another important feature of democratic society is that it is made up of so many active groups that many opportunities are provided for both leadership and followership. Study, for instance, the group structure of our society. Every community is made up of numerous groups, associated on the following bases:

Kinship	Education	Farming and ranching
Race	Politics	Professional practice
Religion	Trade	Literary activity
Fraternalism	Manufacturing	Social activity

Not only are there thousands of such community groupings, but there are hundreds of organizations county-wide, regional, national, and international in extent.

Each of us is alternately leader and follower. We lead in

⁵E. S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*. D. Appleton Century Co., 1942, p. 200.

the groups where we have the greatest skill and the most immediate interest, and accept the leadership of our associates in other groups. For instance, the skilled farmer who leads in agriculture accepts the leadership of other men in activities of other kinds; the successful merchant does not try to lead in medicine or education. For various reasons this feature of democratic organization is very important. It provides many training grounds for developing leaders. It stimulates a variety of activities, thus encouraging versatility and inventiveness. Leaders who know the discipline of followership are made more responsible. Followers who have acted as leaders are apt to be more cooperative, even though more critical.

Democratic Leadership in Industrial Society

Restraints on Leaders. The person who aspires to leadership today must accept the idea that ours is a cooperative society. The democratic leader must accept some restraints therefore. First, his proposals must conform to law, order, and civil liberty if he is to have more than temporary success. True, there have been organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan, whose leaders have risen to power in some localities by extra-legal methods. But such persons are usually soon discredited, notwithstanding their claims that they represent a "higher morality." The idea that "the end justifies the means" is dangerous in democracy, where the way we do things is just as important as what we do. Americans quite properly suspect those Presidents, governors, and other public figures who try to avoid legal and constitutional procedure on the ground of superior wisdom.

The democratic leader must also accept the restraints imposed by the necessity of informing and persuading the public. The old axiom that "the people will go just as far as they see and believe" states a fundamental idea for leaders.

Men experienced in public affairs know that the public is much slower to accept social changes than to accept physical inventions. We saw in Chapter 1 that feelings, traditions, fears, and prejudice too often prevent a "meeting of minds" when social problems are discussed. The leader of today must be a teacher, able to understand and explain in simple terms the reasons for his acts. He must be able to relate them to the ideals of democracy. It has been pointed out that the "fireside chats" of President Franklin Roosevelt's first administration were couched in words so simple that even the illiterate could understand, or believe they did. Abraham Lincoln was the most skillful of all Presidents in appealing to democratic ideals in his speeches.

Because men cling lovingly to the past and the real fundamentals of opinion change slowly, the democratic leader must also learn to compromise. He must concede full freedom of expression to those with whom he disagrees. Experienced leaders in church, school, politics, or business are often content to compromise on the method of a reform if they can win in principle. The object of a democratic leader is usually to unite as many individuals and groups as possible behind his proposals.

Finally, truly democratic leaders must never lose sight of the fact that the only ultimate justification of any act or proposal is that it will better society. Democracy aims at human welfare, not mechanical efficiency. What did it profit Hitler and the German people, for example, to have the most efficient mechanized army in the world for a time? Efficient organization is not an end in itself, but a means to an end, a way of getting more important things done. Every leader in school, church, business, labor, farming, and other groups should bear this point in mind.

Given these restraints, the leader may quite properly be impatient of the barriers to progressive change which are

interposed by outworn tradition, obvious demagogism, and deliberate self-seeking.

Special-Interest Groups and Leadership. The importance of keeping the ideals of democracy uppermost in our minds is further emphasized when we reflect upon the group structure of society. We have noted repeatedly the contests going on between special-interest groups. There is some danger that these struggles will result in a narrow and unenlightened leadership, incapable of working for the general welfare. Each special interest—manufacturers, labor unions, merchants, bankers, farmers, etc.—tends to select its leaders from among those persons who are most devoted to the interests of the group and most ruthless in carrying forward its contest for recognition and power. Unless the ideals of democracy form a common denominator among such groups and their leaders, we may eventually find ourselves unable to agree on a program for the welfare of the nation as a whole.

That narrowness of viewpoint is not restricted to leaders of economic groups is attested by the appeals to sectional prejudice made by ambitious politicians, by the racial bigotry exhibited by a few public figures, and by the shallow denominational bickering carried on by some religious leaders.

In this connection we should note a point about the evolution of leadership. Gradually throughout society, the role of leaders is becoming one of organizing consent, not combat. Leaders work not so much to defeat their enemies as to convert them. We saw this fact illustrated by political parties. Ballots have succeeded bullets as the weapons of contest, and each leader strives to be more persuasive than his rivals. In industry, too, this idea is well illustrated by the increasing cooperation between labor and management. There are statesmen who need to learn this lesson as it applies to international affairs, for they insist upon organizing the world for

future conflict when it might more easily be organized for cooperation

The Demagogue Demagogism always masquerades in democratic garments. Even Hitler and Mussolini made much of the fiction that they were the "representatives" of the people. In the United States there has been a noticeable element of demagogism in some of our most conspicuous public figures.

Demagogues stir up prejudice and passion among the people in order to advance their own interests and ambitions. They are often masters of propaganda techniques, dealing in loaded words, name calling, half-truths, false statements, and glittering generalities. They know the dramatic appeal of pomp and ceremony. Demagogic appeals are usually made on the basis of race prejudice, class jealousies, or religious intolerance. They take full advantage of exaggerated patriotism, ignorance, and superstition.

The noisiest demagogues, though always able to attract a limited following, are easily recognized. Most Americans accord them merely a tolerant smile. The greatest dangers from demagogism arise when its methods are skillfully used by self-seekers of apparent culture and restraint who know how to impart an air of sincerity and plausibility to their exaggerations. There is danger, too, from those newspapers which systematically use demagogic appeals, counting upon repetition finally to get their misrepresentations accepted as truth by large elements of the public.

The dangers of demagogism are a very real threat today. Millions of people are bewildered by the complexity of our problems and frightened because they feel insecure. There is always danger that such elements may be united on the basis of their hates and fears. We should not lose sight of the fact that Hitler so united large elements of the German people by promising them economic security, national glory,

and "discipline." There is an inclination to say, "Oh, but the American people are different." True, we do have different traditions and a deep-seated faith in the ways of democracy. But the readers of this book know that there are no innate "racial" differences between the way we think and act and the way other peoples think and act. To accept this idea of our own superiority on the basis of race or nationality is to endorse a fundamental tenet of Nazi doctrine. If our internal dissensions increase and we do not make a cooperative attack on our complex problems by democratic methods, it is not impossible that large groups of the American people may respond to the appeals of demagogues. Such appeals might promote hate and dissension or they might attempt to unite us for the false prosperity of another war.

Are There Giants in the Land? It is not difficult to discern some of our leadership needs for the immediate future. We need leaders who can accept the fact of change and try to plan for it constructively. In education we need leaders who discern that their most urgent task is to train a generation of young people who are aware of our problems and understand the need for tolerance and public-spirited activity. Religious agencies require leaders who are above denominationalism and devoted to humanity. In politics we must have more men and women who are willing to put aside the more limited aims of partisanship and cultivate the stature of statesmanship. In industry, trade, agriculture, labor we need above all things less group selfishness and more devotion to the general welfare. And the fundamental tenets of all leaders should be tolerance and cooperation.

Let's say it this way. The ideals of democracy are based on the belief that we are capable of maintaining a society and government that will increasingly build toward impartial justice, security, and freedom for all mankind. But

today, in this very nation and throughout the world, people are unnecessarily hungry, cold, sick, maimed, ignorant, superstitious, cruel, and intolerant. They are divided by confusion and are futilely attempting to resolve by conflict those problems which will succumb in the long run only to cooperation.

Perhaps this is our opportunity. What shall we do about it?

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

- 1 Select a leader of your acquaintance and list the traits which you think make him most effective.
- 2 What is the distinction between personality and character? Name a few traits that you think illustrate each term.
- 3 Reread Chapters 1 and 2 hastily, noting the sections of each chapter which are closely related to this discussion of leadership. In what ways are they related? Look over the problems at the ends of the chapters to see whether you have changed your mind about any of them.
- 4 It has been said that people do not change their opinions, they outgrow them. Comment.
- 5 Why is the idea that "the end justifies the means" dangerous to democracy? Can you illustrate?
- 6 Ask various members of the class to prepare ten-minute talks on each of the following persons as symbols of certain aspects of American idealism.

Benjamin Franklin

Thomas Jefferson

William Lloyd Garrison

Horace Mann

Andrew Carnegie

Clara Barton

Mary Lyon

Susan B. Anthony

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.

Jane Addams

Henry Wallace

- 7 If you have a state manual or "blue book," study the occupational distribution of members of the state legislature. Is any one occupation heavily represented? How do you account for this fact? Do you think it desirable?

8. If you have determined on your probable occupation, list and be prepared to discuss three or four of the "frontier" problems in the field—problems which your generation must attack. Are these problems technical or social-economic in nature?
9. If you can secure two or three back numbers of the magazine, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, examine two or three speeches to see whether you can find evidences of group bias. Are the speakers using "good words" to rationalize a narrow point of view or do they seem to be concerned for the general welfare? Examine other speeches with the same question in mind.
10. If this study happens to fall at a time when some prominent person is speaking in your town or city, compare the treatment of his speech in two or more local newspapers. Do the news stories correspond? Are the editorial attitudes similar?
11. Write one or more of the following organizations for any free printed matter they may have explaining the purposes, methods, and leadership of their organizations:

National Association of Manufacturers

14 West 49th St.,

New York, N. Y.

Postwar World Council

112 E. 19th St.,

New York, N. Y.

National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People

69 Fifth Ave.,

New York, N. Y.

American Trade Association Executives

Munsey Building,

Washington, D. C.

Congress of Industrial Organizations

718 Jackson Place, N.W.,

Washington, D. C.

American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

- 12 Professional schools, such as those training physicians and attorneys, have been criticized because their courses are said to be so highly vocational in emphasis that they do not turn out graduates of broad and liberal education. Study the catalogs and requirements of the universities in your state and try to determine whether there is some truth to this charge. For instance, do the legal and medical curricula have courses which emphasize the social purposes of these professions?
- 13 What are the arguments for and against emphasizing the social aims of education as a foundation for leadership in any field?
- 14 Suggest some contributions which high schools might make to leadership training in local communities.
- 15 Comment on the observation that demagogues are a symptom, not a cause, of social unrest and political division.
- 16 Look up an account of the life and activities of the late Huey Long, Senator from Louisiana. If you can find one of his speeches, study it to determine the nature of his appeals for support. Can you think of any leader in public life today whose methods are similar?
- 17 Contrast the life and work of Long with that of the late Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska.
- 18 Outline an imaginary account of the civilization of the United States as it will be in A.D. 2100, roughly a century and a half hence. Consider material traits, business methods, homes, education, religion, leisure-time activities, press, movies, radio, government, etc., as suggesting possible elements of future culture which you should include.
- 19 What reflections on leadership are suggested by these famous lines from Kipling?

We shall lift up the ropes that constrained
our youth to bind on our children's hands,

We shall call to the water under the bridges
to return and replenish our lands;

We shall harness horses (Death's own pale horses)
and scholarly plough the sands.

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THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation

We hold these truths to be self-evident — that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security

Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended Legislation,

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us,

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world,

For imposing taxes on us without our consent,

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of a trial by jury

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences,

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring Province establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies,

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments,

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever

He had abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns and destroyed the lives of our people

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury.

A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved, and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

THE TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION

THE PREAMBLE

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America

ARTICLE I LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

Section I Congress in General

The two
houses

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives

Section II House of Representatives

Election of
members

1 The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature

Qualifications
of members.

2 No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty five years and been seven years a citizen of the United States and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen

Apportionment
of representa-
tives and of
direct taxes.

3 Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three

fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representations from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. **Vacancies.**

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment. **Officers.**

Section III. Senate

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. (Repealed in 1913 by Amendment XVII.) **Number of senators. Election.**

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one third may be chosen every second year, and if vacancies happen by resigna- **Classification.**

tion, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies (Modified by Amendment XVII)

Qualifications. 3 No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen

President of Senate 4 The Vice President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided

Officers 5 The Senate shall choose their other officers and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States

Trials of impeachment. 6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside, and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present

Judgment of convicted officials 7 Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States, but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law

Section IV Both Houses

Method of electing members. 1 The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof, but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing senators

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day. Meetings of Congress.

Section V. The Houses Separately

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide. Organization.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member. Rules.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either House, on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal. Journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting. Adjournment.

Section VI. Privileges and Disabilities of Members

1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at Pay and privileges of members.

the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same, and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place

Prohibitions on members.

2 No senator or representative shall during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time, and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office

Section VII Mode of Passing Laws

Revenue bills.

1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills

How bills become laws

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections to the other house by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless

the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Orders, resolutions, etc.

Section VIII. Powers granted to Congress

The Congress shall have power:

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;
2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;
3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;
4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;
5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;
6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;
7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;
8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

Powers granted to Congress.

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court,

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations,

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water,

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years,

13 To provide and maintain a navy,

14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces,

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions,

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress,

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards, and other needful buildings, — And

Implied powers

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officers thereof

Section IX. Powers denied to the United States

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Powers prohibited to Congress.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken. (Extended by Amendment XVI.)

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Section X Powers denied to the States

Absolute
prohibitions
on the States.

1 No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility

Conditional
prohibitions on
the States.

2 No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the net produce of all duties and impost, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress

3 No State shall, without the consent of Congress lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay

ARTICLE II EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Section I President and Vice-President

Term.

1 The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America He shall hold his office during a term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows.

Electors.

2 Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress, but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or

profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. (The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President). (Superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.)

Proceedings
of electors and
of Congress.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Time of
choosing
electors.

**Qualifications
of President**

5 No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President, neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States

Vacancy

6 In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected

Salary

7 The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them

Oath of office

8 Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation —
"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States "

*Section II Powers of the President***Military
powers.
Reprieves and
pardons.**

1 The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States, he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respec-

tive offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of department.

Treaties.
Appointments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Filling of
vacancies.

Section III. Duties of the President

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Message.
Convening of
Congress.

Section IV. Impeachment

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, trea-

Removal
of officers.

son, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors

ARTICLE III JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Section I United States Courts

Courts
established.
Judges.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section II Jurisdiction of the United States Courts

Federal courts
in general.

1 The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority, — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party — to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, — between citizens of different States, — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects (Modified by the Eleventh Amendment)

Supreme
Court.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have

appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed. **Trials.**

Section III. Treason

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court. **Definition of treason.**

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted. **Punishment.**

ARTICLE IV. THE STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Section I. State Records

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State; and the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof. **Official acts.**

Section II. Privileges of Citizens, etc.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States. **In general.**

Fugitives
from justice

2 A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime

Fugitive slaves

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due

Section III New States and Territories

How States
are admitted.

1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress

Territory and
property of the
United States

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State

Section IV Guarantee to the States

Protection of
the States.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence

ARTICLE V. POWER OF AMENDMENT

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

How amendments are proposed and ratified.

ARTICLE VI. GENERAL PROVISIONS

1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

Public debt.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Supremacy of the Constitution

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to

Oath of office.
Religious test.

support this Constitution, but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States

ARTICLE VII RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names

GEO WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire
John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman

William Paterson,
Jonathan Dayton

Massachusetts
Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King

Pennsylvania
Benjamin Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons,
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson,
Gouverneur Morris

Connecticut
William Samuel John-
son,
Roger Sherman

New York
Alexander Hamilton

Delaware
George Read,
Gunning Bedford, Jr.,
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett
Jacob Broom

New Jersey
William Livingston,
David Brearley,

Maryland.

James McHenry,
Daniel of St. Thomas
Jenifer,
Daniel Carroll.

Virginia.

John Blair,
James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina.

William Blount,
Richd. Dobbs Spaight,
Hugh Williamson.

South Carolina.

John Rutledge,
Charles Cotesworth
Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

Georgia.

William Few,
Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Religion,
speech, press,
assembly,
petition.

ARTICLE II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Militia.

ARTICLE III

Soldiers.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law

ARTICLE IV

Unreasonable searches.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons' houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized

ARTICLE V

Criminal prosecutions.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger, nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation

ARTICLE VI

Speedy and public trial.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses

against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law. Suits at common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. Bail and punishments.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. Reserved rights.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. (The first ten amendments were adopted before the close of 1791.) Reserved powers.

ARTICLE XI

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State. (Adopted in 1798.) Suit against States.

ARTICLE XII

Method of
electing the
President.

1 The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves, they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate, — the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted, — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote, a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The Vice-
President

2 The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-Presi-

dent, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States. (Adopted in 1804.) Ineligibility.

ARTICLE XIII

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the person shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Slavery abolished.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. (Adopted in 1865.)

ARTICLE XIV

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No States shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Negroes made citizens.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President Apportionment of representatives.

of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State

Ineligibility of
certain people

3 No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability

Validity of the
public debt.

4 The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave, but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void

Enforcement.

5 The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article (Adopted in 1868)

ARTICLE XV

1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. **Negroes made voters.**

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. **Enforcement.** (Adopted in 1870.)

ARTICLE XVI

1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration. **Income tax.** (Ratified in 1913.)

ARTICLE XVII

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. **Direct election of senators.**

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided* that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct. **Filling vacancies.**

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution. **When valid.** (Ratified in 1913.)

ARTICLE XVIII

Prohibition.	1 After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited
Enforcement	2 The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation
When valid	3 This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress (Ratified in 1919)

ARTICLE XIX

Woman suffrage	1 The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of sex
Enforcement	2 Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article (Ratified in 1920)

ARTICLE XX

When terms end	1 The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the twentieth day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the third day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified, and the terms of their successors shall then begin
When Congress assembles	2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the third day of January unless they shall by law appoint a different day

Vacancy.

3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

When effective.

5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect upon the fifteenth day of October following the ratification of this article. (October, 1933.)

When valid.

6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

ARTICLE XXI

Repeal.

1. The 18th article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Protection of "dry" states.

2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating

liquor, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited (Effective December 5, 1933)

When valid

3 This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution within seven years from the date of submission hereof to the States by the Congress

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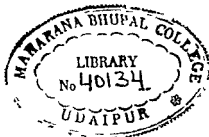
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